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## China Again Imprisons A Democracy Activist

Court Orders 4th Lengthy Sentence in a Week

By Erik Eckholm  
New York Times Service

**BEIJING** — Dealing out the fourth lengthy prison term to political dissenters in a week, China convicted a veteran democracy activist on Sunday for "providing intelligence to hostile foreign organizations," a human rights group said, because he gave an interview about farmer protests to Radio Free Asia, which is financed by the U.S. government.

After an unusual Sunday trial in the southern province of Hunan that lasted less than three hours, the defendant, Zhang Shuang, 42, was sentenced to 10 years in prison, according to Human Rights in China, which is based in New York.

Mr. Zhang previously spent seven years in prison for organizing an independent labor union in 1989. This year, before his detention in July, he formed a group to protect laid-off workers and tried to register it with local officials.

Chinese authorities, fearing social unrest at a time of rising unemployment, appear to be especially fearful of any

labor organizations outside Communist Party control and of any efforts to link up disaffected workers with democracy campaigners.

Last week, as part of the most severe crackdown on dissenters here in two years, three longtime activists who promoted a new China Democracy Party — Xu Wenli, Qin Yongmin and Wang —

**What many forgot:** China is a one-party state. Page 4.

Youcai — were convicted on subversion charges and given sentences of 11 to 13 years.

At his brief trial, Mr. Zhang was charged with "illegally providing intelligence to hostile foreign organizations and persons," according to his lawyer and relatives.

The indictment specifically named a phone interview that Mr. Zhang gave last March to Radio Free Asia in which he discussed a protest against high taxes

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**FLEEING THE FIGHTING** — Carabinieri paramilitary police in Otranto, on the coast of southern Italy, conducting a roll call on Sunday of illegal immigrants from Kosovo before sending them to a refugee center.

## War Looms In Kosovo As Rebels Fight Police

Diplomats Question Usefulness of Monitors As Truce Disintegrates

By Mike O'Connor  
New York Times Service

**PODUEVO, Yugoslavia** — As the truce in Kosovo continued to disintegrate, rebels came down from the hills Sunday and attacked a large police position here along the main road between Belgrade and Pristina, the capital of the Serbian province.

Some diplomats questioned whether the international monitors who are trying to keep the October cease-fire from collapsing will be in sufficient strength and will learn the skills of keeping peace in the Balkans in time to prevent full-scale war. About 2,000 monitors are expected, but less than half that number is in place.

While some police fought rebels along the road, other units tried to enter rebel-controlled territory nearby and were caught in ambushes that left two armored personnel carriers damaged or destroyed and three officers wounded, according to government officials. The officials said the rebels used a 120mm mortar in the ambushes. If true, that means the rebels have much more powerful weaponry than had been known.

Smaller mortars were used in the combat on the main road, though it was unclear which side was using them. Heavy machine-gun fire poured from police units that commandeered a motel near the road. The police appeared to have pushed the attackers back after about half an hour.

International monitors say ethnic Albanian civilians have come under sniper fire from the police in the motel for several days.

There has been shooting in this area of northern Kosovo since Thursday, when government forces tried to capture a village and the regional headquarters of the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army.

Ethnic Albanians, who make up more than 90 percent of Kosovo's population, want to form an independent country.

After the rebels repulsed a government attack Thursday, international monitors brokered an agreement in which both sides agreed to pull back their troops, but neither side seems to want to stop fighting.

On Saturday, rebels killed an elderly Serbian man in a village near Podujevo, the largest town in the area; he was the father-in-law of a local police official. The rebels said he had been firing at them from his home.

On Sunday morning, as local Serbs gathered for the man's funeral, rebels shot and wounded another older Serb, who they also said was firing at them.

With tensions growing, the monitors, stationed in the local headquarters of both rebel and government forces, were summoned to brief senior monitors in Pristina. About 30 minutes after they left, the fighting started.

The police said they were ambushed as they sought to rescue the elderly man who was wounded. A rebel leader said the police came to attack them.

Some foreign officials said the fighting Sunday was partly the result of the inexperience and insufficient number of the monitors.

"There was nobody to tell the KLA, 'Relax, relax,'" a foreign official said, speaking of the Kosovo Liberation Army. "If they go in and work the problem it will calm down," he said. Then, referring to the regional rebel commander, he added, "If they don't stay on top of it, Remi will take Podujevo, in the worst case, and that means Pristina is next."

### Violence Threatens Mission

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe said the worsening violence in Kosovo jeopardized its truth-verification mission. Reuters reported from Warsaw.

"If the bloodshed and violence escalate, the OSCE will have to reconsider the forms of its activity in Kosovo," said the head of the organization, Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek of Poland. The group is responsible for sending the unarmed monitors.

They begin, according to the Post/Kaiser/Harvard survey, with a near-even split between those (50 percent) who think a president "has a greater responsibility than leaders of other organizations to set the moral tone for the country" and those (48 percent) who say, "As long as he does a good job running the country, a president's personal life is not important."

Reflecting the partisanship engendered by the long

## As Europe Aligns Its Currencies, Disunity Persists in Pricing

By Edmund L. Andrews  
New York Times Service

**KRONBERG, Germany** — Klaus Gossens built his career by thinking more like a European than a German. As head of European trade management at Braun AG, he has nurtured one of the best-known European brand names for such household gadgets as coffee makers, spice grinders and electric shavers.

So, as much of Europe takes a huge step toward unity by introducing a single currency, the euro, why is Mr. Gossens worried?

His problem is pricing. A Braun Flex Integral shaver sells for about \$90 in Spain, \$103 in the

Netherlands, \$118 in Germany and \$124 in France. There are similar variations for countless other products, from Chanel perfume to Volkswagen sedans to Levi's jeans to Bayer aspirin.

And French or German consumers are not the only ones who pay more. Europe's biggest retailers themselves often pay their suppliers different prices in different countries.

"Until now, buyers tolerated those differences," Mr. Gossens said at Braun's headquarters in Kronberg, north of Frankfurt. "But they aren't tolerating them anymore. We are entering a situation where everything is very transparent. If



I am a buyer and I don't get satisfactory answers about prices, I'll go off to another company."

That may sound like Economics 101, but until recently Europeans have been fighting it. Though the European Union abolished most trade barriers among member countries several years ago, European retail markets remain stubbornly balkanized.

Now, as 11 countries prepare to start using the euro as their common currency Friday, the crazy-quilt system has become a battleground. The euro should theoretically make it much easier to compare prices and to pounce on discrepancies. It is

also likely to give a new lift to cross-border transactions within Europe, because it will eliminate exchange-rate fluctuations and the cost of hedging against them.

Though the new bills and coins will not begin circulating until 2002, the euro is already quite real. The participating countries — Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Ireland and Finland — will permanently lock their exchange rates to the euro on New Year's Eve and surrender control over monetary policy to the new European Central Bank. Some stores already are

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## Recession in Asia Brings Resistance to Openness

Political and Economic Freedom Are Under Fire

By Michael Richardson  
International Herald Tribune

**SINGAPORE** — With many of East Asia's economies mired in recession, and the prospect of further troubles in 1999, some countries in the region — including the two most populous, China and Indonesia — are warning that curbs on openness will be needed to cope with the crisis.

As mass unemployment and social distress deepen in the months ahead, the challenge to political and economic liberalism in Asia is likely to intensify as Asian governments seek to tighten controls by asserting that stability is essential for recovery, analysts say.

"A new conservatism in Asia may be rising in reaction to the economic crisis," said Ding Xue Liang, a research fellow in the Contemporary China Center at the Australian National University in Canberra. "Too many in Asian political and intellectual circles, liberal democracy does not appear to be the solu-

tion to their current financial and economic problems."

Yet liberalism — in the shape of more open markets and greater accountability of governments — is strongly advocated by the United States, other Western nations and financial institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund as the only real solution to the region's fundamental problems.

Those countries and institutions have provided emergency loans amounting to more than \$140 billion to help three of the most badly affected East Asian nations — Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea — in exchange for reforms.

A few other countries, among them the Philippines and Singapore, are pressing ahead with similar reforms to make their economies more transparent and competitive.

But many others are either having second thoughts about opening more widely to public scrutiny and international competition or reverting to authoritarian political controls and methods of the command economy.

Western officials and business ex-

See ASIA, Page 4

## Malaysia, Warts and All

Anwar Trial Exposing Government Secrets

By Thomas Fuller  
International Herald Tribune

**KUALA LUMPUR** — When Anwar Ibrahim, Malaysia's ousted deputy prime minister, was first brought to court two months ago on corruption and sodomy charges, there were calls from across the political spectrum for a fair and open procedure. Malaysia was on trial, politicians and commentators said, as much as Mr. Anwar was.

But after 33 days of testimony, one question is increasingly being put: Can a developing country like Malaysia — one in which information has long been

tightly controlled — handle the scrutiny of a trial that lays bare the inner workings of its government?

The trial is reported nightly on the television news and is featured almost every day on the front pages of newspapers here, offering an unfiltered and unprecedented view of the upper echelons of power. The case has featured the names of top officials, among them close allies of Prime Minister Mahatir bin Mohamad, who dismissed Mr. Anwar in September after a year of acrimony between the two men. Witnesses have told the court how they were awarded government contracts, an often-opaque process in Malaysia.

Put simply, the trial of Mr. Anwar is shaking the foundation of government. And lawyers, political analysts and the police say they are concerned about collateral damage.

"What is hurting most now in Malaysia are the institutions of democracy and government," said Rustam Sani, a lecturer at the University of Malaya. "They are nascent, still being built: the judiciary, the police, the civil service, the political parties. It will take some time until we can have confidence in those institutions again."

Perhaps the best indicator of the



**CHALLENGE TO NETANYAHU** — Yitzhak Shamir, left, lending support Sunday as Uzi Landau of Likud announced his candidacy for prime minister. Meanwhile, a top Likud contender dropped out. Page 7.

### AGENDA

#### Iraq Vows to End UN Oil-for-Food Deal

Iraq said it would reject an extension of a UN-monitored oil-for-food program that feeds civilians and that it would order aid monitors to leave.

Baghdad also said it would fire on U.S. and British warplanes patrolling the "no-fly" zones imposed after the Gulf War. Officials said that anti-aircraft gunners were prepared to

open fire on planes patrolling the zones.

The tough talk came as a group of Arab legislators meeting in Amman, Jordan, condemned recent U.S.-British air attacks as "unjust aggression" and called on Arab governments to work on the lifting of the UN trade embargo against Iraq. Page 7.

#### Bonn's Plea on Taxes

Germany appealed to other EU members Sunday to get rid of what it called unfair tax loopholes and emphasized that creating a system of "fair taxes" would be a priority when Germany took over the rotating presidency of the European Union at the start of the new year. Page 11.

#### Legacy of '60s Plays Out in Divisions Over Clinton

By David S. Broder and Richard Morin  
Washington Post Service

**WASHINGTON** — The sharply divided public reaction to the impeachment of President Bill Clinton has provided a dramatic showcase of a struggle for American values that goes back to the 1960s and remains unresolved today.

As an emblematic figure from that troubled decade, polls and analysts said, Mr. Clinton confronts his fellow citizens with choices between deeply held moral standards and an abhorrence of judging others' behavior, a conflict the baby boomers have stirred all their adult lives.

A series of surveys about values by The Washington Post, the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation and Harvard University underlines the growing tolerance Americans now display for groups like homosexuals

that have suffered discrimination and toward practices from interracial marriage to premarital sex that once might have been condemned. That tolerance also extends to free expression of controversial views.

But few issues are more revealing than Mr. Clinton's impeachment when it comes to highlighting how

As its life ends, the 105th Congress seems to have frozen the early agenda of the 106th. Page 3.

values have changed over the last 30 years. Almost without exception, experts interviewed said that the public verdict in his case was far different than it would have been in the late 1960s because the values environment has changed.

Conflict over the social order is notably less violent than it was in 1968, when the assassinations of Martin

Luther King Jr. and Robert Kennedy, anti-Vietnam War demonstrations, urban riots and violent clashes between police and protesters at the Democratic National Convention scarred the nation's consciousness. But 1998, with a bitter, year-long battle in the courts and Congress climaxing in the first presidential impeachment in 130 years, has left deep divisions across social, political and generational lines.

They begin, according to the Post/Kaiser/Harvard survey, with a near-even split between those (50 percent) who think a president "has a greater responsibility than leaders of other organizations to set the moral tone for the country" and those (48 percent) who say, "As long as he does a good job running the country, a president's personal life is not important."

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**Newsstand Prices**

Bahrain	1,000 BD	Mexico	55 c
Cyprus	€ 1.00	Nigeria	1200 Naira
Denmark	17 DKr	Oman	1,250 QR
Finland	12.00 FM	Qatar	10.00 QR
Gibraltar	€ 0.85	Rep. Ireland	€ 1.10
Great Britain	€ 1.00	Saudi Arabia	10 SR
Israel	€ 5.00	S. Africa	R16 inc VAT
Japan	1,250 JY	U.A.E.	10.00 DH
Korea	€ 1.20	U.S. (US)	€ 1.20
Kuwait	700 Fils	Zimbabwe	2m Z\$





## Challenge for Jewish President/ Weighty Matters of Conscience

## A Swiss 'Facilitator' Searches for the Middle

By John Vinocur  
International Herald Tribune

**B**ERN — Ruth Dreifuss says it almost before her visitors are settled into their chairs: She will not be an alibi, a public relations prop depicting Switzerland as reconciled with its past, or a marker to paint its history with the harsh, dark lines of caricature.

But being Switzerland's first woman and first Jewish president may come with difficulty.

Her success, she suggests, would mean helping find a new context, a still uncertain middle space, where Switzerland could begin to come to terms with its old self-vision of virtue, and its new and unwelcome persona of World War II accomplice and profiteer.

A reservoir of anger and grief that has not yet found resolution accompanies the post she takes over for a year on Jan. 1.

How does she do the job right, getting all the nuances, choosing the references between bulletpoint picture postcard and self-flagellation, that both confront and try to explain an aching reality? How does Ruth Dreifuss serve as the emblematic representative of a country that for years tried, in effect, not to know how much it was a conscious onlooker to the Holocaust or even more, its shameful beneficiary?

Her job is largely ceremonial, a mission she defines as more one of a "facilitator" than an uncontested leader at the head of the Federal Council, or Swiss government. Her election as president, she stresses, came not as part of a vast Swiss image-retouch, but because it was simply her turn, as the council member responsible for health and social affairs since 1993, to take over the country's rotating presidency. Even so, being President Dreifuss is not less delicate; getting to the consensual middle on the issue of Switzerland's conscience cannot be comfortable for her.

When she talks to visitors in an office of careful unpretentiousness, her sentences almost always seem to come in pairs. It is as if her articulation of her dilemma, expressing the many contradictory levels of her vision of Switzerland, had a double track, a constant negative plus positive link, an on-the-one-hand layer of resolve and directness, and an on-the-other-hand layer of modifiers and clauses.

So, when Miss Dreifuss points to how Switzerland started to resolve the issue of money owed Holocaust survivors by Swiss banks, she quickly adds, "This was an initiative, I recognize, that was born only under outside pressure."

The pattern is strong. On the one hand: "I don't want that my presidency gives anybody the feeling that Switzerland no longer has to be concerned with its past" or the elements of anti-Semitism in it. Then, on the other, about anti-Semitism: "I deny that it's any greater here than elsewhere. Don't have



*'I'm happy to be able to say that Switzerland is moving and that I'm part of what's moving.'*

me saying that. But that's enough. Even if it's like it is elsewhere, that's enough."

Yes, she says, there are now "certain marks on Switzerland's reputation," but no, "I don't think you can talk about damage" to Swiss effectiveness economically or on the international level.

**T**HE PATTERN seems almost instinctive, and curiously it reflects the way Miss Dreifuss sees Switzerland dealing with its fears about its past: "There have always been two movements. We try to find out a bit more, and then we close up the cellar so as not to see what's in there. I think we're going much further now."

Possibly the most intense period of Miss Dreifuss's presidency will come in the spring when a

government-appointed panel of international historians will issue a report on Swiss policy during the war. She has said she expects to launch a national debate, and — the hunt for the middle comes in here — to explain to Jewish organizations where their demands are justified and where, as she signaled in advance, they are less so.

Miss Dreifuss, who is 58 and not married, was born to Swiss-Jewish parents in St. Gallen and moved during the war to Geneva, across the lake from Nazi-occupied France, or as she puts it, "a few kilometers from a death sentence." She recalls her father as a Swiss patriot, experiencing "a moment of joy" when he put on a Swiss military uniform for the first time.

There was no massive, popular Swiss anti-Semitism during the war, Miss Dreifuss believes, but real anti-Semitism, nonetheless in the country's asylum policy. "The worst was the indifference, and pushed to the extreme, considering Nazism normal and that it didn't concern us."

Her own career developed through the Socialist Party and feminist activities as she worked in the trade union movement. A reputation of calm, fairness, and competence allowed her to leap local politics, bringing her directly into the government five years ago.

**M**ISS DREIFUSS talks sparingly of her own personal history, but she says her family "lived in fear" during the war. There has been no change in the volume of her mail since the Parliament approved her selection as president in early December, although some letters were "more vehement, more stupid." As for anti-Semitism in Switzerland, "I've encountered it, you could say. It happens. I've never suffered from it as an obstacle."

In a country in which women received the right to vote in all its cantons only in 1970, Miss Dreifuss sees herself as a new face. "I represent another Switzerland. More urban. More egalitarian. More tolerant."

She is an advocate of Swiss membership in the United Nations and the European Union. Neither will happen on her watch, but should be taking place, she believes, during the next five years.

If she insists she is unwilling to serve as anyone's lever or alibi, Miss Dreifuss says she will pay special attention to the needs of women's and human rights groups. Then she adds her modulating clause. They must not be demagogic.

At her most bold, Miss Dreifuss, says, "I'm happy to be able to say that Switzerland is moving and that I'm part of what's moving."

This, of course, had its own careful preface: "I don't want the Swiss to think that equality is achieved because I'm president of this country."

"There's a long way to go," she says.

## Among U.S. Students, French Keeps Its Chic

## Appeal Endures Despite Waning Influence

By Jacques Steinberg  
New York Times Service

**NEW YORK** — U.S. high school teachers are abuzz with reports that Latin, long given up for dead, is showing a pulse. But the more remarkable news in language circles may really be that millions of American teenagers continue to study French, despite the fading significance of France and its language.

According to the most recent surveys, nearly 1 out of every 4 American students who learn a foreign language in middle school and high school still chooses French, a language spoken fluently by only about 1 out of every 50 people on the planet. By contrast, 1 percent of American teenagers study Chinese or Japanese, which combined are spoken by 20 percent of the world's people.

This comes as French has effectively ceded to English its longtime standing as the first language of diplomacy, among other crowns. So is French being taught out of proportion to its role in the family of nations and the global economy?

Richard Brecht thinks so. He is the director of a group called the National Council of Organizations of Less Commonly Taught Languages, which represents anyone teaching languages other than English, French, Spanish and German. He comes down particularly hard on French (studied by 22 percent of American teenagers) and German (6 percent), saying he can think of no good reason to push them on so many American students at the expense of Russian or Japanese.

"The only answer that makes sense, besides the fact that those are the languages available, is that they are just so deeply embedded in our cultural traditions," Mr. Brecht said. "It becomes a cultural argument, not a logical argument, and that's not an argument."

Mr. Brecht, a professor of Russian at the University of Maryland, said it made sense for Americans to know Spanish, which is "our second language" and which two out of three teenagers learn. So too the languages of Asia and Russia because their actions have social and economic consequences for the United States. Yet only 0.3 percent study Russian, 0.17 percent take Cantonese and Mandarin and 0.77 percent Japanese, according to the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

For America's schools, the reasons for offering French are often quite basic. One is tradition: America's love affair with French can be traced to 18th-century Southern colonists, whose classical education included the language. Though the world may have changed since then, a school's attempt to broaden its language palette can be difficult, with the teachers and time needed to offer Russian or Chinese or Arabic — harder and longer to master than French or Spanish — in short supply.

For the second year, Lake Forest High School in Pelton, Delaware, a small town near Dover, is offering Japanese to 10 students. But to squeeze it into the curriculum — to meet their language requirement, roughly half the students take Spanish, the other half French — the class is given after school, via satellite from the University of Georgia. The program costs \$5,000 and is funded by a federal grant.

There are, of course, more than a few Francophiles who are appalled at any suggestion that the importance of French is declining. After all, French is necessary for translating the works of Voltaire, or even the works of Celine Dion, a French Canadian.

Defenders of French can be found even in traditionally unfriendly places.

A British official at the United Nations, who insisted on anonymity so he would not be seen as a defender of the French, said that French could occasionally be useful.

"If you want to impress your girlfriend," he said, "have a bit of French pillow talk."

Holding out another olive branch, he added, "I don't think you should necessarily be hard-nosed, saying you should only learn a language that is going to further your business interests. People need an education to be enlightened, and French is part of that."

But French has limited practicality, he conceded. "I have enough trouble in a cab in New York," he said. "There, Urdu might be helpful."

Not so for those traveling to Quebec, where French is a necessity and the use of English is restricted on signs, or for those interested in the arts.

Morgan Arenson, a ninth grader at the Fieldston School in New York, is in her third year of French, which she believes will help her in becoming a ballerina. "The steps that are done, they were named in French, because that is sort of where ballet took hold," said Morgan, 14. "We do little stories in French class. Someone was throwing something and the book used the word *jeter*. I thought, 'Oh, I know what that is.'"

Amanda Wilder, an 11th grader at the Kent School in Yonkers, Conn., said she could have chosen German, Spanish, Japanese or Latin. While most of her classmates selected Spanish, she picked French.

"I had been told that French was the language of the diplomats," she said, "and that all high-powered people, such as Madeleine Albright, spoke it."

Yet it is in the area of diplomacy that French has suffered some of its bitterest losses. While some in France continue to swear away Americanized phrases like *le stress* and *disk-jockey* that have slipped through their borders, delegates of former French colonies from Africa and Southeast Asia are increasingly choosing to communicate in English rather than French at official conclaves.

## Another Team Sets Balloon Attempt

The Associated Press

**SYDNEY** — An Australian-American team is preparing for its attempt at the first nonstop around-the-world balloon flight, with take-off planned for just days after another team splashed down in the Pacific Ocean.

The team, led by the Denver real estate magnate Dave Liniger, is making final preparations in the Australian outback town of Alice Springs. Mr. Liniger, John Wilkinson, an Australian, and Bob Martin, a journalist from Albuquerque, New Mexico, expect to succeed where others failed by taking the high road, flying on the outer edge of the atmosphere where weather should not be an issue.

The launch is scheduled for Tuesday morning. The team will fly under a huge NASA-developed balloon in a pressurized capsule, reaching an altitude of about 24 miles (39 kilometers) above sea level.

## Cathal Goulding, Ex-IRA Chief, Dies

The Associated Press

**DUBLIN** — Cathal Goulding, 75, former chief of staff of the Irish Republican Army, died Saturday in a Dublin hospital, the British national news agency, Press Association, reported.

The cause of death and funeral arrangements were not immediately known.

Mr. Goulding, a committed Marxist, was the IRA's commander in 1969 when the paramilitary group split.

His poorly armed and poorly organized group had been unwilling to begin an insurrection in British-ruled Northern Ireland in the late 1960s, and after a bloody feud, younger Roman Catholic militants such as Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness broke away to form the Provisional IRA and Sinn Féin.

Under Mr. Goulding's leadership, the Official IRA declared a cease-fire in 1972.

Mr. Goulding became highly critical of the Provisionals, saying that the violence in Northern Ireland was sectarian and that it made Irish unity more difficult.

Mr. Goulding was born in Dublin in 1922, into a family with strong IRA connections.

He was interned by the Irish government during World War II for his membership in the Irish Republican Army. After the war, he was involved in the revival of the organization, and in 1953 he was sentenced to prison for eight years in Britain for an arms raid on a school in England.

**Alfredo Covelli, 84, Founder Of Italian Monarchist Party**

**ROME (AP)** — Alfredo Covelli, 84, who founded a monarchist party in 1946, the year Italians voted to inaugurate a republic, died Friday in Rome.

Italian news reports said Saturday.

Mr. Corbelli's National Monarchist Party appealed to some of the 11.5 million Italians who had voted in favor of retaining the monarchy. In 1972, the party became a part of the neofascist Italian Social Movement. Mr. Covelli served for more than 30 years in the Italian Parliament.

**Sandro Cherchi, 87, a sculptor who was one of the founders of the Italian anti-fascist artistic and literary movement Corrente of the 1930s, died in his Turin home, RAI television reported Saturday.**

**Wang Gauchang, 90, the Chinese and German-trained scientist credited with founding China's atomic bomb program, died Dec. 10 in Beijing of an unspecified illness, the Xinhua press agency reported Saturday.**

## 4 Dead as Storms Lash Ireland and Britain

Agence France-Press

**LONDON** — Four people were killed, one is missing, and about 200,000 homes were without electricity Sunday after hurricane-force winds and rain lashed Britain and Ireland, the police said.

A 23-year-old man died when a tree fell on his car in the Connemara region of western Ireland, where winds hit 106 miles (170 kilometers) per hour. A man died in Northern Ireland when his car smashed into a fallen tree.

In northern Wales, another auto accident caused by fallen trees killed a five-year-old boy and seriously injured his mother, who was driving. Rescue workers in Devon, western England, pulled the body of a 44-year-old man from a swollen river.

In Brighton, south England, a man was carried away by a huge wave as he was about to swim in the sea.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

## Arc de Triomphe Shut

**PARIS (Reuters)** — The Arc de Triomphe, one of Paris's most popular tourist attractions, was off-limits to visitors Sunday as the monument's employees went on strike over staffing levels and pay.

The employees, who walked out on Saturday afternoon, complain that they must work too much overtime and are demanding bonuses and the hiring of additional staff.

Lights and heat were switched back on over the weekend for many customers in the southern United States who had been shivering since an ice storm

snapped power lines across the region. But thousands more still had no electricity since a pre-Christmas ice storm pulled down power lines and snarled highway and airline travel. Thousands in Virginia, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana and North Carolina were without power early Sunday. (AP)

Security has been tightened on Switzerland's main Alpine rail crossing after three bomb threats from an anonymous caller demanding money, state police said Sunday. The 15-kilometer (9.5-mile) Gotthard tunnel, on a key north-south route between Germany and Italy, was closed for two hours Friday and

scheduled following the first threat. (AP)

Thick fog at Delhi airport on Sunday disrupted air traffic, causing about half of all arrivals and departures to be canceled, the Airport Authority said. (Reuters)

Trans World Airlines reported far fewer cancellations Saturday after a judge ordered union flight attendants staging a "sickout" back to work, but hundreds of frustrated travelers remained stranded. TWA canceled about 45 flights Saturday, down from more than 90 the day before, as flight attendants staged a show of anger over the lack of a new contract. (AP)

## This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices may be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

**MONDAY:** Australia, Britain, Canada, Ireland.  
**TUESDAY:** Costa Rica, Ireland.  
**WEDNESDAY:** Costa Rica, Japan, Philippines.  
**THURSDAY:** Argentina, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Chile, Costa Rica, Denmark, El Salvador, Finland, France, Germany, Iceland, Japan, Latvia, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Thailand, Ukraine.

**FRIDAY:** All countries except Egypt, India, Liechtenstein, Pakistan.  
**SATURDAY:** Oman, Saudi Arabia.

Sources: J.P. Morgan, Bloomberg, Reuters.

## WEATHER

Forecast for Tuesday through Thursday, as provided by AccuWeather.



Map, forecasts and data provided by AccuWeather, Inc. ©1998 - All Rights Reserved.

## North America

A storm will form east of the Rockies Monday and slide across northern Canada Tuesday and Wednesday, bringing rain and snow to the Great Lakes region and the northern United States. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the Midwest and Northeast Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the Southeast Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the Southwest Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

Legend: S - sunny, B - partly cloudy, C - cloudy, A - showers, M - moderate rain, H - heavy rain, W - snow, V - very heavy snow, D - drizzle, F - fog, L - lightning, T - thunder, U - unknown.

## Europe

Golden air will remain across northern Europe and the British Isles Tuesday and Wednesday, with rain and snow in the north and west. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the south and east Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the west Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

## Asia

Golden air will remain across northern Asia and the Korean Peninsula Tuesday and Wednesday, with rain and snow in the north and west. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the south and east Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the west Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

## Africa

Golden air will remain across northern Africa and the Sahel Tuesday and Wednesday, with rain and snow in the north and west. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the south and east Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the west Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

## Latin America

Golden air will remain across northern Latin America and the Caribbean Tuesday and Wednesday, with rain and snow in the north and west. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the south and east Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the west Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

## Oceania

Golden air will remain across northern Oceania and the Pacific Tuesday and Wednesday, with rain and snow in the north and west. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the south and east Tuesday night and Wednesday morning. Heavy rain and snow will fall in the west Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

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THE AMERICAS

# President and Congress Face a Budget Crunch

## Despite Surpluses, Built-In Spending Caps Will Force Politicians to Make Sacrifices

By Richard W. Stevenson  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — As the Clinton administration finishes drawing up its tax and spending proposals for the next fiscal year, it is confronting the perplexing but painful reality that despite mounting federal budget surpluses there is little money for new programs, and some areas could face cuts.

Given the strict spending caps enacted at a time when the deficit seemed to be a permanent fixture, administration officials are reaching deep into their bag of budget tricks to find ways to pay for the programs that President Bill Clinton wants to propose when he sets out his priorities to Congress next month.

Administration officials said they would have enough money available in their budget plan to show that Mr. Clinton can still push an activist agenda despite his impeachment and pending Senate trial.

Mr. Clinton is expected to propose some domestic programs that were nowhere in Congress this year, such as school construction, anti-pollution efforts and tax breaks for child-care expenses, as well as to come up with some initiatives such as assistance for disabled people returning to work.

But he also is committed to providing more money for defense and has already announced his support for an increase in pay and pensions for the military.

Mr. Clinton has told members of Congress that it will be all but impossible to deal with all the issues facing the country, from providing more military spending to dealing with Medicare's looming troubles to meeting Democratic priorities for domestic programs, unless there is agreement to use some of the surplus, a step that Mr. Clinton continues to vow he will not even consider until the nation settles on a plan to shore up Social Security.

"Staying with the policy of reserving the surplus until we've fixed Social Security has left us with a tight budget," said Gene Sperling, the White House economic adviser. "But balancing fiscal discipline with efforts to pass new investments in education and other priorities has in one form or another been the balancing act the president has succeeded in pulling off throughout his tenure."

In the meantime, the administration is assembling a budget for the year starting Oct. 1 that does not rely on the surplus. Instead, it stays in balance by offsetting the cost of new programs with cuts in others and by "freezing" new programs of money, at least on paper. Administration officials declined to divulge any details, but people with whom they have consulted said the ideas under consideration included closing a variety of

corporate tax loopholes and finding ways to squeeze more money out of tobacco companies and cigarette sales.

Republicans, too, are chafing under the budget rules. Stymied by the administration in their efforts to get a big tax cut this year, they are regrouping to try again.

One plan being considered by Senate Republicans calls for a tax cut to be financed out of budget surpluses over the next decade, but in a way intended to deflect criticism from Democrats that it would endanger Social Security. Under the plan, the government would continue to set aside the portion of the surplus generated by the payroll taxes that finance Social Security. Excess Social Security tax revenues accounted for all of the \$70 billion surplus last year and are expected to account for nearly all of the surpluses for the next several years.

But with new, albeit tentative, analyses showing that the non-Social Security portion of the surplus could grow more rapidly than expected, Republicans are optimistic that they can pay for a big tax cut and help pay for needed spending increases without being accused of endangering the future of the retirement system.

The immediate problem for the coming year centers on the spending caps set in the budget law. The caps, which have grown increasingly tight in the last few years, effectively require a freeze in spending on discretionary programs for the next fiscal year — meaning a cut in many cases once inflation is taken into account. The tightness of the caps was a jolt even to cabinet members, who in recent months proposed programs costing tens of billions of dollars more than the administration has to work with.

As a result, many of Mr. Clinton's plans this year will be limited or scaled back. On Wednesday, he unveiled his plan to provide more money next year for assistance to the homeless. Under the plan, he will ask for federal spending of \$1.125 billion for the year starting next Oct. 1, up from \$975 million this year. But a year ago he was pushing for a higher increase, to \$1.150 billion.

The outlook for domestic programs is particularly clouded by a change in the budget rules that takes effect in the coming year. The change removes a "fire wall" between the money available for domestic programs and the money available for military programs, essentially allowing one area to be raided to finance the other.

Republicans are pressing hard for a substantial increase in defense spending next year, adjusted for inflation, to begin offsetting years of declines. The White House has already scaled back a request from the Pentagon but seems likely to approve a multibillion-dollar increase for next year, and it will no doubt have to negotiate a larger figure with Congress before the budget process ends.

"The long and short of it is that the discretionary caps, even if we kept defense at levels we had been projecting, would be incredibly tight," said Thomas Kahn, staff director and chief counsel for Democrats on the House Budget Committee. By increasing military spending, he said, "it's going to take a huge whack out of nondefense discretionary" spending, "and shows even more clearly how difficult it's going to be to live within the caps."

Members of both parties say the spending caps remain a valuable source of fiscal discipline for Washington and a source of considerable reassurance to Wall Street, which remains wary of the federal government's penchant for living beyond its means.

But while the caps are almost certain to remain in place, both parties are likely to search for ways around them, as they did in the negotiations that concluded the budget for the current fiscal year.



SOUTHERN EXPOSURE — Ray Watson removing ice-covered branches in Huntsville, Alabama, while Dexter Cole soaked up the sun's rays at Pass-a-Grille, Florida.



# Can New Congress Rise Above Predetermined Role?

By Adam Clymer  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Rarely has a new Congress had its future shaped so firmly by its predecessor. With only a few days left of its old life, the 105th Congress seems to have frozen the early agenda and tone of the 106th.

Impeachment is the main, if not quite the only, reason. The weakness and instability of congressional leadership is the other.

The Republican Congress passed hardly any significant legislation in 1998. And its preference for investigations of the president left the public unhappy enough that Republicans lost seats in the House.

Now, with 223 seats, they have the thinnest majority since 1953. Any time the Republicans lose a net of six votes, the Democrats can defeat them.

Skilled, experienced leadership might overcome those numbers. Since the congressional elections Nov. 3, the Republicans have lost two speakers, Newt Gingrich and Bob Livingston. And in neither case did they consider anyone else in the elected leadership, let alone the mutually distrustful Texans who have held the No. 2 and 3 jobs since 1994, Dick Armey and Tom DeLay.

Dennis Hastert of Illinois may yet emerge as more than Mr. Gingrich's adviser on health care issues and Mr. DeLay's deputy, but there is no compelling evidence of his leadership skills.

Over in the Senate, Trent Lott has had two-and-a-half years as majority leader,

and his footprints are faint. He is not really an ideologue, but he has to worry about ideologues' dominance of his caucus.

And it will be a while before his political blunder of criticizing the bombing of Iraq and then saying he had not really meant it is forgotten. It is not as dramatic as voting for impeachment and then saying, "Oh, never mind," as some House Republicans did the week before last, but it is close.

Nor did the House really liberate itself from impeachment just by sending the matter to the Senate. The bitterness between the two parties is at peak levels, and while the country may not regard Mr. DeLay with the scorn it came to feel for Mr. Gingrich, Democrats think of him as an ultraradical back, and they regard him, not Mr. Hastert or Mr. Armey, as the real boss of the House Republicans.

And the House has trapped the Senate, setting its agenda by referring two articles of impeachment demanding that President Bill Clinton be tried, convicted and removed.

This is not a welcome task, like high-way bills or an opportunity to share credit for tax cuts. Most senators would rather not have a fully fought-out trial with Monica Lewinsky as a star witness.

They have lots of reasons. Some actually have bills they would rather be working on. Others find the subject simply disgusting. Many think the charges are faulty. Most think there is no prospect of getting the 67 votes for conviction. And none like the idea of

abiding by the Senate rule requiring them to sit silently through the proceedings, a spectacle that a former majority leader, Howard Baker, recently called "mind-boggling."

But getting together on a way to squeeze this issue back into the toothpaste tube may prove beyond Mr. Lott, whose thinking on the matter is unknown.

Most people who want censure want the president to admit he lied, and Mr. Clinton says he will not. Some senators want to see a trial go to a verdict, to embarrass even if they cannot expel the president.

Senate traditionalists want to make

sure the rules are carefully obeyed, although the rules are 130 years old. And senators instinctively bristle at advice from the outside, whether it is Mr. DeLay urging conviction or former presidents and former senators calling for censure.

Some resolution may come quickly, though the Senate is not known for speed. But if it does not, the standard of disagreeability could approach the House level.

Of course, politicians of both parties are eager to show that government can work and that they can do important things for the nation even in the current atmosphere.

## POLITICAL NOTES

### 'Superbugs' Funding Sought by Clinton

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton will soon propose a \$25 million initiative to combat the spread of infectious diseases, including virulent new strains of microbes that resist treatment by antibiotics and other drugs, according to administration officials.

Public health officials have become alarmed about the emergence of such "superbugs" and more generally about the increasing incidence of infectious diseases once thought to be under control.

The extra money will be included in the budget request that Mr. Clinton sends to Congress early next year, administration officials said. It represents a 31 percent increase in the federal program to address emerging infectious diseases.

Dr. Jeffrey Koplan, the new director of the Federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, said the additional money would be used to investigate outbreaks of infectious diseases, to upgrade the laboratories of state and local health departments, to develop new diagnostic tests and to educate doctors and patients about the dangers of excessive use of antibiotics. (NYT)

### New Fight Planned On Drunken Drivers

WASHINGTON — Summoning a somber image of unopened packages beneath a Christmas tree ("presents

for a child killed by a drunk driver"), President Clinton has promised to renew his fight against drunken driving.

"For a generation, drunk driving has been one of America's greatest public-safety challenges," Mr. Clinton said Saturday in announcing new steps by the Justice and Transportation departments.

Mr. Clinton said he would try again to gain passage of a nationwide .08 blood-alcohol standard for drunken driving. Congress rejected that proposal in May as it passed a transportation bill, and safety groups accused lawmakers of capitulating to the liquor lobby.

The president promised grants to states and other incentives to enforce laws against drinking by minors, to reinforce programs to prevent drunken driving and to pass and enforce strong state highway-safety legislation.

"With alcohol flowing at parties and millions of families taking to the road to see friends and relatives, the holiday season can also be a season of tragedy," Mr. Clinton said. (NYT)

## Quote/Unquote

Dan Carter, a historian at Emory University in Atlanta, as the impeachment of President Clinton moves to the Senate, noting that conservative Southerners hold virtually all of the Republican leadership positions in Congress: "I've been surprised that there's been so little discussion of how much this whole process has been driven by the Southernization of the Republican Party. Maybe it's like the purloined letter: It's sitting there on the shelf right in front of you, so you don't see it." (NYT)

## Smallest Octuplet Dies in Houston

HOUSTON — The smallest of the octuplets born here this month died early Sunday from heart and lung failure, a week after she was born weighing just 10.3 ounces.

Texas Children's Hospital announced the death of the baby, Chidindu Chidera, who was nicknamed Odera.

She and her seven siblings had been in intensive care since her birth Dec. 28 as part of the world's first surviving set of octuplets.

The baby's condition began to deteriorate significantly Saturday, when doctors moved her from a conventional ventilator to an oscillator in an effort to improve her blood oxygenation.

## VALUES: America Divides Over Clinton Along Lines Drawn in Upheavals of '60s

Continued from Page 1

Investigation of Mr. Clinton's relationship with Monica Lewinsky, most Republicans demand a moral example and most Democrats reject it.

But sociologists and other students of American life interviewed last week said that the divisions went much deeper and had their roots in long-standing controversy generated not just by Mr. Clinton but by his baby-boom generation.

While most Americans want Mr. Clinton to finish his term and prefer censure as an alternative to removal from office, few say he is a good role model. Seven in 10 Americans — including a majority of baby boomers — said in the survey that Mr. Clinton did not have high personal moral or ethical standards. Six in 10 — again including a majority of baby boomers — also said his standards were no better or worse than "most people of his generation."

The public sees a nation that lacks agreed-upon ethical guidelines for itself. More than six out of 10 said the country was "greatly divided when it comes to the most important values." Ironically, on this one question there was unity. Republicans and Democrats, men and women, young and old all said they see a society split on moral and ethical issues.

With some exceptions, the experts tend to agree. Some describe it as a battle of extremes — the puritanism of the religious right versus the permissiveness of the aging children of the 1960s. Others see the acceptance of Mr. Clinton's actions as proof that

Americans are utterly cynical about their political leaders, mute spectators at a television drama that they despise but cannot escape.

Some say it is a symptom of national ambivalence, of individuals longing for moral values but resistant to imposing their standards on others. And the more hopeful say the preference for censure is the president — rather than absolving him or removing him — is a healthy effort at synthesizing those opposing tendencies.

### Nonjudgmentalism seems to have gained strength among the people, especially in the sexual realm.

But few of the scholars are comfortable with the status quo.

"No analysis can absolve the people themselves of responsibility for the quandary we appear to be in," said Don Eberly, director of the Civil Society Project in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. "Nonjudgmentalism, the trump card of moral debate, seems to have gained strength among the people, especially in the sexual realm, and this clearly does not bode well for America."

Over the last 30 years, polling shows, the proportion of people saying they think their fellow citizens generally are as honest and moral as they used to be has fallen significantly. In a 1992 survey, as many answered yes as said no. In 1995, there were three yeses for every four nos. But this year there were almost three nos (71 percent) for every yes (26 percent).

In the same period, trust in government also has declined radically. In 1968, 61 percent said they trusted the government in Washington to do the right thing most or all the time; in 1998, only 33 percent felt that way.

A pollster, Dan Yankelovich, writes that "the transformation in values from the mid-'60s to the late '70s confronts us with one of the sharpest discontinuities in our cultural history." In that period, he notes, the concepts of duty, social conformity, respectability and sexual morality

were devalued, in favor of expressiveness and pleasure seeking.

This was a time when Bill Clinton, moving through his 20s at Georgetown, Oxford and Yale, rejected military service and experimented with marijuana. But in general, according to a biographer, the Washington Post reporter David Maraniss, Mr. Clinton followed "a moderate course during an increasingly immoderate period." The stamp of that period remained on Mr. Clinton, in at least two areas: the easiness with which he characterized his dealings with the "threat" of military service and the permissiveness he allowed in his sexual life.

In judging Mr. Clinton's morals to be typical of his generation — only 7 percent thought them better, 27 percent worse — most of those surveyed made it clear they disapproved. From the perspective of individual

responsibility, the divided public verdict on the Clinton case represents an unresolved debate about fundamental values. At the extremes, the conflict amounts almost to the "culture war" some trace directly back to the 1960s.

Randy Tate of the Christian Coalition and William Bennett, a former education secretary, have accused Mr. Clinton of subverting standards of honesty and decency so blatantly that he cannot be allowed to remain in office. The Harvard professor Alan Dershowitz and many Democrats in the House have accused Mr. Clinton's opponents — notably the independent counsel Kenneth Starr — of practicing "sexual McCarthyism," trampling civil liberties and invading people's privacy.

Christopher Gates, president of the Denver-based National Civic League, said that the pollster George Gallup Jr. had described the 1960s and '70s as "the time when our country fell apart and the bonds began to dissolve. You had a war between the generations, a war between the genders, you had Vietnam, break-ins, resignations, pardons. You had a huge dissolution of trust."

Michael Sandel, director of the Harvard Institute for Policy Studies, said the consequences went further. "We've witnessed a politics of scandal, sensation and spectacle that has turned the president into another figure in the celebrity culture," he said. "It reflects a cynicism beyond mistrust. It reflects a view that government really doesn't matter, except as it provides occasional spectacular entertainment. It is not good news for democracy."

## Cagayan Economic Zone Authority

7th Fl. Westar Building, 511 Shaw Boulevard, Pasig City 1603  
Tel: (632) 636-5780 TO 81 FAX: (632) 631-3997

## INVITATION TO PRE-QUALIFY AND SUBMIT COMPARATIVE PROPOSALS

The Cagayan Economic Zone Authority (CEZA) received an Unsolicited Proposal for the Redevelopment and Rehabilitation of Port Irene in Casambalangan Bay in Santa Ana, Cagayan, Philippines under a Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) arrangement. Port Irene is a deep harbor port located at the northeasternmost tip of the Philippines. It lies between and along the international shipping route of North America and China. The Unsolicited BOT Proposal has been reviewed and approved for publication for submission of Comparative proposals by the Investment Coordination Committee (ICC).

Pursuant to the Implementing Rules and Regulations of R.A. No. 6957 as amended by R.A. No. 7718, the CEZA through its Pre-Qualification, Bids and Awards Committee hereby invites interested parties to submit pre-qualification documents and comparative proposals not later than 12:00 noon on 26 March 1999 at the CEZA office located at 7/F Westar Bldg., 511 Shaw Blvd., Pasig City, 1603, Metro Manila, Philippines.

The pre-qualification and tender documents may be obtained at CEZA Office, 7/F Westar Bldg., 511 Shaw Boulevard, Pasig City, 1603, Metro Manila, Philippines during office hours starting from 4 January 1999 up to 15 January 1999 upon payment of a non-refundable amount of Ten Thousand Pesos (P10,000.00) or Two Hundred Fifty US Dollars (\$250.00) and submission of Letter of Intent.

CEZA reserves the right to reject any or all proposals, to waive any informality in the bids received, and to award the contract to bidder whose offer, as evaluated by the PBAC, is the most reasonable and advantageous to CEZA and to the Philippine Government.

(SGD.) IRENEO V. VIZMONTE  
Chairman, PBAC



## ASIA/PACIFIC

## 2 Pol Pot Aides Defect From Khmer Rouge

Both Seek Amnesty From Genocide Charges

By Seth Mydans  
New York Times Service

PHNOM PENH — Two of the last three longtime aides of Pol Pot, the former Khmer Rouge leader, have emerged from their jungle hideouts in the hope of becoming "ordinary citizens," the government announced over the weekend.

It made public copies of handwritten letters by the two men — Khieu Samphan and Nuon Chea — pledging allegiance to the government as well as a reply from Prime Minister Hun Sen welcoming them in from the cold.

The defections were the latest, and among the most important, in a longtime Communist insurgency that began col-

lapsing more than two years ago. They leave just one widely hated man, Ta Mok, at large from among the inner circle of Mr. Pol Pot, who died in April.

Both of the men are among the targets of a potential international tribunal for crimes against humanity committed from 1975 to 1979, when the Khmer Rouge caused the deaths of more than a million people.

But despite their defections, the two men are not yet in government hands, and the possibility of bringing them to trial remains in question.

A military commander said Sunday that the two Khmer Rouge leaders would not leave their base town, Pailin, without guarantees they will not be sent to face genocide charges abroad, Reuters reported.

"They will not emerge until officials return from Phnom Penh with that guarantee," the military commander said. "These people are elderly men. They won't live much longer than 20 years — why not let them live peacefully for the rest of their lives?"

[But a government spokesman, Khieu Kanharith, said in Phnom Penh that no government could provide such a guarantee. "If you are talking about international conventions, no government can grant amnesties for those who committed genocide," he said.

[He and other government officials said, however, that if the two were to stand trial, the government preferred it be before a Cambodian court rather than before an international tribunal, after which the two men could apply for a royal amnesty.]

Like previous defectors from among the leadership, officials said, both men have relocated to the remote gem-mining town of Pailin, a former Khmer Rouge stronghold. Though Pailin is now



Khieu Samphan, left and Nuon Chea, center, shown with the late Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot in 1986.

formally under government control, it is guarded by 2,000 armed former guerrillas and is on a border with Thailand, which has been a safe haven for Khmer Rouge leaders for years.

The clear hope of the two elderly men is that they will be left alone, as previous defectors have been, and that Cambodia will choose not to stir up past demons with a trial.

"My only request is to return to society and live as an ordinary citizen," said Mr. Nuon Chea, 71, who was sometimes counted as "Brother Number 2" under Mr. Pol Pot. He is believed by investigators to have been responsible for horrific purges that resulted in the proliferation of Cambodia's "killing fields."

His words were echoed, in almost identical language, by Mr. Khieu Samphan, 67, who was the official head of state and the friendly, reasonable face of Mr. Pol Pot's brutal regime. His doctoral thesis, written in France in the 1950s, is sometimes seen as the blueprint for the movement's evacuation of cities and destruction of culture, learning, religion and industry.

Under the rubric of "national reconciliation," Cambodia has so far preferred to try to forget, if not to forgive, the traumas of its past. But even if forgotten, they continue to infect the present.

It was in part because of his negotiations with Mr. Khieu Samphan that Prince Norodom Ranariddh was ousted in a coup last year by Mr. Hun Sen. But after an election, Prince Ranariddh is back, sharing a coalition government as speaker of the National Assembly, and it is Mr. Hun Sen who negotiated with Mr. Khieu Samphan.

Though many Cambodians, weary and brutalized by years of war and mass killings, say they prefer to let bygones be bygones, others say they fear the lesson that may be sent if Khmer Rouge leaders walk free.

"We cannot forget the past like this," said Thun Saray, leader of a human rights advocacy group called Adhok. "If we do not send these people to a tribunal, future leaders might say, 'Oh, I'm only applying some new ideas for the good of the people; I'm only killing 100,000 more people; why punish me, because I

am only acting in the interests of the Cambodian people.'"

If Mr. Hun Sen chooses to cooperate with preparations by the United Nations for a tribunal that would be held in Cambodia, both of the defectors could be extradited from Pailin, said Stephen Heder, a London-based expert on the Khmer Rouge. He added that a cut in Pailin's economic lifeline by the Cambodian government on one side and the Thais on the other could persuade the younger leaders, who now control the isolated enclave, to cut loose these old revolutionary war horses.

On the other hand, Mr. Hun Sen might find it in his political interests to let the defectors live out their old age as the "ordinary citizens" they dream of being.

But if Mr. Ta Mok is caught, the international outcry against this lone remaining fugitive would be difficult to silence, Mr. Heder said. A fiery, one-legged peasant soldier who is believed to be in his 70s, he has such a reputation for brutality that even among the Khmer Rouge he is known as "the butcher."

## North Korea Warns of New Missile Shot

By David E. Sanger  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — North Korea has warned the United States that it is prepared to launch another medium-range missile. And the Clinton administration has privately told the North that such a step would jeopardize international aid it was promised in exchange for freezing its nuclear weapons program.

The latest warning, published Friday by the official Korean Central News Agency, said it was "foolish for the U.S. to expect any change in our attitude."

But U.S. officials have said in recent weeks that they have seen no activity to suggest that a launching was imminent. When North Korea launched a three-stage missile over Japan on Aug. 31, it took the U.S. intelligence community by surprise. Until then, American officials did not believe that the North possessed the technology for a three-stage ballistic missile, which gives the country the ability to reach all of the major U.S. military bases in South Korea and Japan.

North Korea maintains that the launching was intended to propel a small satellite into low Earth orbit. While North Korean news agencies say the satellite now is broadcasting patriotic North Korea songs, U.S. officials say their review of the evidence suggests the satellite either failed to get into orbit or dropped out of orbit within hours of the launching.

"We haven't heard a thing," a senior administration official said last week, "because it's not up there anymore."

The political significance of a second launching would likely be far greater than any marginal technological achievement it might represent for the North.

The administration has been trying to rescue a 1994 accord under which North Korea agreed to freeze its nuclear weapons program in exchange for fuel oil and the construction of two civilian nuclear power plants. The United States committed itself to paying for the fuel oil; Japan, South Korea and other nations are paying for the nuclear plants.

But the discovery earlier this year of a huge dig under a mountain, which the United States suspects is intended for nuclear weapons development, and the missile launchings have cast doubt on the accord.

This month the North dropped a demand that it be paid in return for allowing international inspectors to see the new site; instead, it suggested that it would be willing to allow inspectors in if the United States provided more food aid. Some aid has already been sent to alleviate starvation in the country.

## What Many Forgot: China Remains a One-Party State

By Elisabeth Rosenthal  
New York Times Service

BEIJING — Three months ago, Wang Youcai was feeling optimistic about the prospects of the China Democracy Party, a fledgling group he had helped to found and hoped to register as China's first opposition party. "I think the likelihood I'll be reelected is very small," he said in an interview.

But last week, after swift trials, Mr. Wang, 32, and two other organizers, Xu Wenli and Qin Yong, were sentenced to more than a decade each in prison for "subverting state power." In a speech, President Jiang Zemin proclaimed that challenges to Communist rule would be "annihilated in the early stages."

And on Sunday a fourth dissident,

Zhang Shuangang, was sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for giving interviews to Radio Free Asia, which is funded by the U.S. government.

The surprising thing is that all this came at the end of a year when China's rigid political system seemed to be relaxing its grip. So the verdicts sent ebullient hopes that

China was poised for change crashing to the ground — and not just for the dissidents but for the many Western leaders who have flocked to Beijing in the last year, applauding China for progress on human rights and legal reform.

How had their optimism been so far off base? Were their calculations overly simplistic or terribly wrong?

In fact, many signs in 1998 suggested

that China's leaders were ready for a dose of political reform: Mr. Jiang discussed Tibet and the Tiananmen massacre with President Bill Clinton during an hour of live television. China said it would sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Chinese officials played host to Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights.

But in their optimism, many people overestimated the significance of such events, overlooking the obvious: China remains a one-party state, with the rule of the Communist Party written into its constitution.

"These were all important steps, but I think they were misinterpreted by dissidents and by many in the outside world," said Andrew Nathan, a pro-

fessor of political science at Columbia University in New York. "They decided that initiatives for change could come from outside rather than inside the Communist Party. But that was never true."

Still, the Clinton visit in June seemed remarkably open and dissidents like Mr. Wang thought the time was ripe to propose an alternative party. A few months later, initial attempts to register the party in two provinces were not immediately squashed. So the members felt further emboldened.

In fact the China Democracy Party never even came close to registering — no closer than hearing from a few local officials that if its members could show listings like an official meeting place and a list of members, they were free to turn in an application.

But for activists who had previously landed in jail for their democratic leanings, it seemed like progress, even though no one knew for sure just why China's leaders had turned cordial. Was it all a show for the West, and particularly for Mrs. Robinson, whose visit was just weeks away? Or was there genuine debate about political reform among the top leadership? The optimists chose to act on the chance that the opening was real.

"Especially around August and September there seemed to be a thaw," said Chen Zhonghe, a China Democracy Party member in Wuhan. "And some had the belief that Jiang Zemin might offer a different approach. That turned out to be an illusion."

Foreign governments and visiting dignitaries tuned in to the liberalizing signals as well, and they, too, found their hopes raised. Journalists proclaimed a Beijing spring. Lawyers from England, Germany and the United States came to

## CHINA: Another Democracy Activist Gets a Long Prison Term

Continued from Page 1

by 70 to 80 farmers in one Hunan county and another incident in which a farmer who refused to pay a tax was killed.

Numerous farmer protests have been reported around the country in recent years and national leaders have spoken out against high, unfair burdens put on peasants by local and county governments.

Radio Free Asia, which was established by the U.S. Congress in 1996 and receives all its funds from Congress, broadcasts news and other programs into China from transmitters in Central Asia and the Pacific.

The Chinese government regards the network as hostile and tries, with some success, to jam the broadcasts, which often emphasize democracy-related sub-

jects that are banned in the national media.

"We deeply regret this action," said Daniel Southernland, executive editor of Radio Free Asia, speaking by phone from Washington on Sunday.

In the March interview, Mr. Southernland said, journalists called Mr. Zhang to verify reports of the farmer protests and "he didn't say anything that wasn't widely known — certainly it wasn't national security information."

"If they want to do someone in like this, we can always find an excuse," Mr. Southernland said.

Radio Free Asia, which broadcasts in native languages to eight countries where news is censored, frequently quotes Chinese residents on its programs, although it does not use names when it appears the speaker will be endangered.

Reeling from the recent trials, China's remaining dissidents are now waiting to see if the government will stop with the jailing of a few leaders or continue with more arrests.

In general, only those who have been actively involved in organizing the new political party or independent worker groups have been imprisoned for any length of time. In contrast to earlier decades, Chinese people today are fairly free to voice dissenting opinions in private — so long as they do not act on them.

In two recent speeches, widely publicized by the official media, the Chinese president and Communist Party chief, Jiang Zemin, stressed the overriding importance of protecting social stability and said that any threats to the supremacy of the Communist Party would be "annihilated in the early stages."

## ASIA: Recession's Effects Include New Resistance to Openness

Continued from Page 1

ectives complain that China, Vietnam, Burma, Laos, Cambodia and Malaysia are increasingly inclined to abandon free-market reforms and instead protect local companies and other interests hit by the downturn by raising barriers to foreign capital, businesses and goods.

In all these economies, export growth is sputtering and foreign investment is falling. There is a loss of confidence in local currencies. Banks are burdened with huge bad loans that the companies that owe the money cannot repay anywhere near in full.

Former President Fidel Ramos of the Philippines worries that the crisis may spawn a return of the virulent nationalism, protectionism, managed trade, tight restrictions on capital movements and dictatorial politics that were rife in East Asia in the 1950s and 1960s.

"Everywhere in the region, the crisis threatens mass unemployment, epidemic crime, labor strikes, street demonstrations — all indications of severe fragmentation of national cohesion," he said in a recent interview with The Australian. "In the poor countries, we risk a political backlash not just against free trade and capital flows but against all the rich countries and the transnational corporations that dominate the global economic system."

Mr. Ramos warned that as a result, the tentative support for economic reform in the poorer countries could weaken, and "the temptation to return to dictatorial politics and governance could increase."

Government leaders in Indonesia — which has been wracked by worsening social tensions since the forced resignation of President Suharto in May — warned recently that excessive political freedom was threatening national unity and stability.

"There is a tendency to fight for political power through demonstrations," said President B.J. Habibie, who took over from Mr. Suharto. "If uncontrolled, these could lead to the disintegration of the nation."

Earlier, the Indonesian education minister, Juwono Sudarsono, said that political freedom had gone too far too fast and urged tight controls to prevent bloodshed during campaigning for national elections June 7.

"The pendulum has swung too much in favor of political openness," he said. "This desire for political democracy and openness, juxtaposed with a period of endemic economic deprivation — this combination is the most dangerous possible for political stability."

Some 80 million Indonesians out of a population of just over 200 million are now estimated to be surviving on less than \$1 a day, foreign aid agencies say.

The International Labor Organization has warned that this number could swell to two out of every three Indonesians — more than 130 million people — within a year if the economic crisis continued.

About 20 million Indonesians are officially unemployed, out of a work force of 90 million. Many more work only a few hours a week.

Gripped by poverty and despair, many Indonesians have also lost respect for the armed forces and police that propped up the regime of Mr. Suharto.

As a result, there is a rising tide of crime and lawlessness that analysts fear will deter investment and disrupt business as well as provide the military and conservative political forces with an excuse for a crackdown.

China's recent harsh crackdown on activists attempting to challenge the Communist Party's almost 50-year-old monopoly on power by setting up the country's

first opposition party is stark evidence of entrenched political conservatism in a leadership fearful of social unrest, analysts say.

"They don't want to see a replication of Poland under Communist rule, where the Solidarity trade-union movement mushroomed into a broader opposition movement," said David Shambaugh, director of the China Policy Program at George Washington University.

Vietnam's Communist Party, like its Chinese counterpart, has been grappling with mounting rural unrest and discontent. Many of the problems stem from corruption and abuses of power at the local level.

The collapse of Europe's Communist governments at the end of the 1980s left the two Asian countries almost alone as the world's last major Communist states.

Vietnam has adhered to China's strategy of pursuing limited economic reform without allowing political change that could threaten Communist control.

Like China, it has so far been shielded from East Asia's financial turmoil by having a nonconvertible currency, except for limited trade purposes.

The apparent ability of China and Vietnam to withstand the Asian economic crisis so far showed the "advantage of socialism," the Xinhua news agency quoted Prime Minister Zhu Rongji as telling his visiting Vietnamese counterpart, Phan Van Khai, in Beijing in October.

China says it expects its economy to show growth of 8 percent this year after inflation, while Vietnam forecasts real growth of 6 percent.

But as in China, economic growth in Vietnam is starting to slow, and the



In Manila, Mr. Ramos fears that the region's crisis could stir up nationalism.

social impact is being felt in cities and towns across the country as well as in the countryside.

In response, the government is warning that dissent will not be tolerated and that stability must be a paramount national concern.

In the past 20 years of East Asia's boom, four countries in the region have replaced authoritarian governing systems with what appear to be durable democracies — South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and the Philippines.

Some analysts fear that the increased political openness that emerged from rising standards of living and education, and increased travel and communication, may be wiped out in much of the region by recession and its effects.

## MALAYSIA: Anwar Trial Exposes Secrets

Continued from Page 1

heightened sensitivity surrounding the court case and the possible damage to the government is the issue of a politically sensitive audio tape that was introduced in court Wednesday by Mr. Anwar's lawyers. The tape is a conversation between a key prosecution witness, Umni Hafida Ali, and a businessman, Sng Chee Hua. It includes references to the country's top politicians.

When defense lawyers read aloud extracts of the taped conversation in court Wednesday, Miss Umni, who was on the witness stand, turned pale. Less than an hour later, the judge banned the press from publishing any of its contents until further notice.

That night Mr. Sng was called to police headquarters for questioning, a move that defense lawyers protested in court on Thursday.

"Your Lordship should make a statement condemning the act of the police," Raja Aziz Addruse, the lead lawyer in Mr. Anwar's defense team, told Judge Augustine Paul.

"I cannot condemn the police for carrying out their lawful investigation," the judge replied.

Defense lawyers have urged the judge to allow the press to publish the contents of the tape, which they believe backs up their assertion that Mr. Anwar is a victim of a government conspiracy to remove him from office.

As for Mr. Sng, who made the tape, defense lawyers say it is unfair for him to be questioned by the police immediately after his name was mentioned in court.

"The investigation should be completed before a person is charged, not charged and then investigated. Right?" a defense lawyer, Gurucharan Singh, said outside the courthouse Thursday. Pro-

## BRIEFLY

### Violence Erupts Around Indonesia

JAKARTA — Troops guarded three different locations in Indonesia on Sunday after outbreaks of holiday violence in which dozens of people were injured, government officials and police said.

Near the Sumatran city of Medan, about 5,000 people stormed the red-light district Friday in the suburb of Belawan, the police said. The protesters were demanding the closure of the area during Ramadan, the Muslim fasting month.

In Poso, a town in central Sulawesi, thousands of people rampaged Friday and Saturday, following reports that a drunken Christian had stabbed a Muslim, government officials said.

In Jenepono, a coastal town in southern Sulawesi, hundreds of people set fire to a local government building Friday to protest the appointment of a new regent, the administrative head of a local district, the police said. Troops were on alert there Sunday, but the town was reported to be calm. (Reuters)

### Australia Hauls In Illegal Immigrants

SYDNEY — Eight more illegal immigrants were found wandering through Australia's remote north on Sunday, bringing to 50 the number found over the past three days, officials said.

A search by police was continuing for more people, who are believed to have traveled to Australia's rugged coast aboard a cargo vessel that was found aground on Thursday. (Reuters)

### Burma Dismisses Deportation Rumor

RANGOON — The military government dismissed rumors Sunday that it might deport the opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, saying the reports represented attempts by her party to create headlines.

A government statement said Daw Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy should join the ruling military and other countries in finding ways of riding out the Asian economic crisis, rather than trying to seek publicity. A league statement quoted the opposition leader as saying she had no intention of leaving Burma. (Reuters)

assist China's much-publicized quest for "rule of law."

But many of these Westerners have little experience in China. And they have not spent much time with the older generation of men who run China. Following their own democratic interests, they have focused instead on the younger, more progressive, often Western-trained officials and academics.

It was easy to leave with optimistic impressions. Now the trials are reminders that, although China is undoubtedly moving toward a bit more openness, the direction is not necessarily toward Western democracy.

Western lawyers who recently took part in free-wheeling law forums here said they were shocked that the dissidents were not even accorded lawyers or open trials, as are guaranteed by Chinese law.

Many China scholars say they hope, at best, for incremental change.

"I think there's enough ferment that will cause boundaries on political discourse to be slowly expanded outward," said Stanley Lubman, a consulting professor at Stanford University Law School.

ecution lawyers defend the police questioning of Mr. Sng, saying that investigations in Mr. Anwar's case are ongoing.

Many lawyers involved in the trial said that the prosecution will turn the case over to the defense shortly, after they are finished questioning Miss Umni, their 17th witness. Once the prosecution is finished calling witnesses, the judge will decide whether to continue with the trial or dismiss it.

In trying to prove their case against Mr. Anwar, the government has exposed some harsh techniques used by police in interrogate witnesses.

The former deputy prime minister is charged with ordering the police to obtain a written confession from Miss Umni and one other person to deny his alleged sexual misconduct.

The government has called in police officers to testify as to the way they "turn over" witnesses — changing their stands in all-night interrogation sessions — and how they create a "climate of fear."

In the context of the trial of Mr. Anwar, who was brought to court badly beaten in October, some Malaysians have found the testimony chilling.

The prosecution also called a "husk" Anwar and produced a mattress, allegedly stained with semen and taken from an apartment, that the prosecution says Mr. Anwar visited frequently. The mattress has remained in the courtroom propped upright near the judge.

If convicted of the corruption charges, Mr. Anwar, 51, faces a maximum sentence of 56 years. Once this trial is over, he faces sodomy charges, and the attorney general has indicated that additional charges can be filed against him.



EUROPE

# Belarus Leader's Soviet Dream Turns Into Economic Nightmare

By Michael Wines  
New York Times Service

**MINSK, Belarus** — For four long years, President Alexander Lukashenko has pursued an unlikely obsession: to raise tiny Belarus from the shards of the shattered Soviet Union and remake it into a model socialist state.

Lately, it seems he has succeeded all too well.

The fruits of Mr. Lukashenko's labors are evident daily outside the aptly named Golden Egg, a shop in the center of this city of 1.7 million, where nearly 100 people lined up in foot-stamping cold on a recent December morning.

Their objective was to get inside the store and buy the allotted maximum of 20 eggs each.

Most had been waiting for three hours, since the store opened at 8 A.M. "I can't feel my feet," a fat-swaddled woman said. "This is Lukashenko's fault." She refused to give her name, and said, "The farther away this is published, the better."

In more ways than one — the food rationing, the lines, the ever-shrinking ruble, the undercurrent of fear — Minsk in 1998 resembles Moscow eight or nine years ago, not long before the Soviet Union began to crumble. For Mr. Lukashenko, that rare head of state who openly longs for a Soviet restoration, such problems could not have come at a worse time.

Belarus' socialism dovetails with a larger ambition Mr. Lukashenko harbors: a merger of Belarus with Russia, thus beginning a rebuilding of the old Soviet empire. It also would enable him to seek the new country's presidency, although he recently insisted this was the farthest thing from his mind.

Such a union would be hard enough given that Russia has been heading in the opposite direction economically. It would be harder still if the stumbling Belarusian economy ground to a complete halt, saddling Moscow with the cost of maintaining another 10 million impoverished people.

But it is something that both governments appear to desire. On Christmas Day, Mr. Lukashenko and President Boris Yeltsin of Russia proposed to begin next year to unify the two countries' economies under a single currency.

It is also a prospect that elevates Mr. Lukashenko from garden-variety autocrat to a man the West is beginning to watch with some dismay. Mr. Lukashenko has spent considerable time stamping in Russia's so-called Red Belt, a devotedly Communist strip of Russia south of Moscow, and the region's governors are frequent visitors to Minsk. He has surfaced in Russian presidential polls, and few believe his demands of interest in ruling a united Russia and Belarus.

Unlike Russia's Communists, a politically clumsy and mostly unpopular faction, Mr. Lukashenko might be a contender — if he gained an entry to Russian politics.

A charismatic ruler with a hand-picked Parliament and a base of peasant support, he appears concerned enough about the future to begin shoring up his position. He announced plans this month to block his few political opponents and created a so-called emergency headquarters, charged with restoring staples like eggs and milk to store shelves.

He also has persuaded the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to withhold judgment on Belarus — this year they had all but rescinded any notion of lending more money to the government — by promising economic reforms.

By Western standards, there is a lot to reform. Mr. Lukashenko, who ran a collective farm before entering politics, calls his brand of economic policy "market socialism." The government owns or controls much of industry and agriculture but also allows private enterprises to exist. In theory, at least, the government side of the economy competes in the world market as well as with domestic rivals.

In practice, Mr. Lukashenko has followed a straightforward fiscal policy: He prints money when the nation runs short, and he caps prices when he thinks



Presidents Lukashenko and Yeltsin after the signing of the currency accord.

they are too high. The result is inflation and shortages.

"Everything's controlled from the top," said Stanislav Bagdankevich, who quit as head of the national bank in 1995 and now heads an opposition party. "The private sector is dictated what to produce, and what price to sell it at. It's a Bolshevik forced economy."

The average citizen's monthly income has slumped since July to about

\$40 from \$70. And that depends on how one measures income: At last count, there were five separate exchange rates for the Belarusian ruble, with the value of a dollar ranging from 91,000 to more than 350,000 rubles.

The network of price controls has fostered a black market in food, to farmers' ruin. The country's artificially low prices force farmers to sell their crops at a loss, while entrepreneurs snap

up the food and smuggle it to Ukraine or Russia, where it is resold for a healthy profit. It is now illegal to export food without a permit.

In fact, the problem in Belarus is not so much that food is not available — privately run markets have abundant supplies of many staples — as that Belarusians cannot afford it.

In the jam-packed meat markets in Minsk, state-owned meat vendors this month offered strips of grisly, bone-ridden beef for 170,000 rubles (somewhere between 40 cents and \$2, depending on the exchange rate), the price dictated by the state. Across the aisle, private vendors were selling thick, lean steaks for 450,000 rubles.

Even 170,000 rubles was too much for one elderly woman, who said as she walked away that she lived on a pension of only 1.5 million rubles a month.

Industry is in no better shape. Westerners buy little, in part because factories in Belarus are so hobbled by economic controls that they spend little money to modernize and are no longer competitive. Russia, the biggest trading partner by far, is now too hard-pressed itself to buy many of the televisions and tractors produced in Belarus. Yet factories continue producing.

Desperate as conditions might appear, however, virtually nobody is writing off Mr. Lukashenko. Even opposition leaders here allow that he remains popular, especially in rural areas.

## Russians Deploy New Missile as Military Bickers

By David Hoffman  
Washington Post Service

**MOSCOW** — Russia placed on combat duty Sunday the first regiment of its new single-warhead intercontinental ballistic missile, the Topol-M, but the missile came amid intense debate at the highest levels of the Russian military over who will control the nuclear forces.

The first group of 10 solid-fueled Topol-M missiles, located at a base in the Saratov region southeast of Moscow, was commissioned by Defense Minister Igor Sergeev, a former chief of the Strategic Rocket Forces. Despite hard times elsewhere in the military, Mr. Sergeev has fought hard to muster funds for the rocket's development and deployment.

The weapon is designed to replace the multiple-warhead land-based missiles seen as the biggest threat to the United States from the former Soviet Union. The multiple-warhead missiles are banned by the START-2 strategic arms treaty, which still has not been ratified

by the Russian Parliament, although it may come to a vote early next year.

Years behind schedule, the Topol-M suffered a setback in October when its fifth test flight failed. The sixth flight, on Dec. 9, was successful.

The deployment comes as Mr. Sergeev is caught in a bitter dispute over the future of Russia's nuclear forces, which have become the backbone of its deterrent as conventional armies and weapons are seriously deteriorating.

The debate has become heated over the command of nuclear forces, which was rarely discussed in public before. The arguments have been laid out in dueling essays published in the military weekly Nezavisimoye Voennoye Obozreniye.

At issue is Mr. Sergeev's recent proposal to establish a single command over all nuclear forces. Mr. Sergeev said Nov. 3 that President Boris Yeltsin had initiated a decision approving the idea. But there has been stiff resistance from the general staff.

Currently, control over nuclear weapons passes through the general

staff, which would oversee the various services in combat. Mr. Sergeev has proposed creating a separate organization that would be in charge of all Russian nuclear weapons, whether on submarines, long-range bombers or land-based missiles. Mr. Sergeev also has proposed including in the new command the 12th Main Directorate of the Defense Ministry, which is in charge of maintaining the nuclear stockpile.

Mr. Sergeev has said he would like the new command to be headed by his protégé, General Vladimir Yakovlev, the current head of the rocket forces, who would be elevated to first deputy minister of defense. A source said Mr. Sergeev saw implementation of his plan as urgent because it is unlikely he will serve beyond the expiration of Mr. Yeltsin's term in summer 2000.

Mr. Sergeev's proposal is in keeping with Russia's current national security doctrine, which emphasizes the importance of preserving its nuclear deterrent at a time when conventional forces are decaying. But the nuclear forces are not

without serious problems. Because of obsolescence, arms-control treaties and lack of money, Russia's strategic forces are shrinking rapidly. Submarines, missiles and aircraft from the Soviet era are all reaching the end of their designated life span. The Topol-M has been one of the very few modernization projects carried out.

But members of the general staff have scoffed at the idea of investing more money in a new organization while the military budget is extraordinarily slim. They have also pointed out the potential for confusion if conventional forces are under one command and nuclear forces under another.

Alexander Lebed, the Krasnoyarsk governor and a former general, has joined opposition to Mr. Sergeev's plan, which he denounced as "impossible to create."

The Topol-M missiles are the first developed within Russia; Soviet models relied heavily on Ukraine, which is now an independent country.

## GERMANY: Election Gains Give Ex-Communists Respectability

Continued from Page 1

imprisoned after the fall of the Berlin Wall.

To the party's critics, the idea of amnesty only hardens suspicions that the former Communists have yet to accept fully the principles of democracy and the German Constitution. The party, critics say, does not seem to care about the Cold War victims of the old regime.

"The PDS is and remains a wolf in sheep's clothing," said Cornelia Pieper, a leader in the opposition Free Democratic Party.

Nowhere is the debate more wrenching than within the ranks of the left-leaning Social Democratic Party of Chancellor Gerhard Schröder. Unable to reconcile its own stance toward the former Communists, Mr. Schröder's party is struggling with a widening split between members who ostracize the PDS and those who embrace it by encouraging post-sharing alliances at the state and local level.

The former Communists are "one of the biggest irritations in the process of German unification," according to an angry transcript written last month by four leading Social Democrats, who reject any moves that enhance the respectability of the Party of Democratic Socialism.

By getting in bed with the PDS at the local level, the Social Democrats only legitimize the former Communists, the Social Democrats fear. That is sure to backfire, they warn, as the bigger party effectively fosters a rival to its left that invariably will drain votes. Some assert that the former Communists still harbor anti-Western, anti-American and anti-capitalist tendencies behind the face it presents to the public.

"The PDS has significant difficulties in accepting Western values of democracy, private property and the NATO ties that were acquired by the West Germans after 1945," said Klaus-Dieter Henke, director of the Hannah Arendt Institute for Research of Totalitarianism in Dresden.

Such reservations appeared to matter little in the Sept. 27 national elections, when the party ousted nearly everyone's expectations. In its power base in the East, it gathered slightly more than a fifth of the votes compared with a scant 1.2 percent in the West. The Free Democrats and Greens, both influential in the West, polled far behind the former Communists in the East.

For the first time, the party appears in the Bundestag with full parliamentary status after winning more than 5 percent of the total national vote, clearing a threshold meant to bar extremists. That allows it to nominate a deputy speaker, sit on committees and receive funds for a research institute. In the previous Parliament, the party, with 4.4 percent, got into the Bundestag on a technicality, by winning three districts.

state government coalition led by the local Social Democrats, who had the backing of the party leadership in Bonn when they cemented the alliance last month.

By joining the government in Mecklenburg's capital city of Schwerin, the Party of Democratic Socialism automatically installed a representative in the Bundestag, the upper house of the national Parliament. The party already props up a minority Social Democratic government in the Eastern state of Saxony-Anhalt.

"The PDS is a protest party," said Richard Schröder, a professor in Berlin and one of the authors of the Social Democratic tract against the former Communists. "They are not a risk to democracy, but they slow the acceptance of democracy in the East. They confuse the learning process."

More than half of the party's 95,000 members are retired, making it only a shadow of its 2.2 million-member precursor. Its ranks shrink by the thousands each year as the elderly die off, but it still includes the former elite, including academics, Mr. Schröder said.

Helmut Holter, the party leader who is deputy premier of Schwerin, studied politics in Moscow in the 1980s and now rides in a chauffeured Audi limousine as an elected state official. "This will create a new social climate of reconciliation and integration," Mr. Holter said of the alliance with the Social Democrats.

Not everyone agrees. The increasingly assertive anti-PDS faction of the Social Democrats argues that the former Communists remain a purely Eastern phenomenon and thus unable to heal Germany's inner divide. Indeed, they say, it is unfit to represent even Eastern Germany because 80 percent of the Easterners con-

sistently vote against it. "The vast majority of the East Germans distance themselves from the PDS," the four Social Democratic critics wrote in their treatise.

Similar controversy has split other parties. Heiner Geissler accused his center-right Christian Democratic Party of "schizophrenic behavior" in its cooperating with the former Communists at the municipal level in the East while denouncing them bitterly in Bonn. Mr. Geissler, a leader in his party's labor wing who also said some cooperation with the Party of Democratic Socialism is conceivable, reaped nothing but bitter criticism.

"Geissler is talking sheer rubbish," the Christian Democratic Party chairman, Wolfgang Schäuble, said last week. But only two months before, Mr. Schäuble made overtures to individual former Communists to switch parties.

PDS leaders justify the calls for amnesty for crimes during the Cold War, arguing that amnesty would help foster "reconciliation" between the halves of Germany, in the words of the party's parliamentary leader, Gregor Gysi. The party chairman, Lothar Bisky, said he would like to see the anniversary of the German Constitution, which now applies to the whole of the reunited Germany.

The rush by Western politicians to "normalize" the party stems mainly from the growing importance of Eastern voters.

Mr. Schröder owes much of his victory to the East, where former Chancellor Helmut Kohl's share of the vote fell more than 11 percentage points, to 27.3 percent, from four years earlier, leaving Mr. Schröder and the former Communists to share the defections.

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## EDITORIALS/OPINION

## Herald Tribune

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## Early Elections in Israel

A delay in the peace talks is expected now that Israel has decided to go to early elections, perhaps next spring, rather than to have Benjamin Netanyahu leave his term in 2000. But that's no disaster. A stalemate with the Palestinians was already in effect as a result of the crisis that developed in Prime Minister Netanyahu's coalition over the Wye accords. The right wing refused to swallow the terms, especially the provision calling for a further withdrawal from the West Bank. Caught between a rejectionist right and a center-left that declined to make a "national unity" government with him, he had no choice but to agree to new elections.

Even in the volatile Israeli scene, it is hard to imagine that the electorate would restore the very political configuration responsible for this negotiating stalemate. Any new government is going to have to answer to the polled large majority of voters who favor careful continuation of negotiations with the Palestinians. It could be Mr. Netanyahu who somehow finds a

pragmatic way toward representing some part of this constituency, or it could be the Labor Party chief, Ehud Barak, or the little-known but popular General Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, "the Israeli Colin Powell," or Likud challenger Dan Meridor. The difference in policy views among the known contenders seems distinctly narrower than the difference in their political styles.

What almost all Israelis seem to agree on is that this is a crucial moment in their country's quest for security, if not for what one would call peace with their Arab neighbors. In Israel's century-old core conflict with Palestinians, a succession of American administrations has helped bring the two sides to a point at which their goals — security and statehood, respectively — are within reach: within reach, but at cost and risk. As a father of Palestinian nationalism, Yasser Arafat possesses his own political resources. For Israel, its democratic nature compels the politicians to seek electoral authorization of the gravest national choices.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## A Year for Campaign Reform

In this holiday season, Americans are feeling anything but festive about their politics. But the raging debate over President Bill Clinton is only one factor in the public's growing alienation from a system more attuned to partisan tactics than the general good. A separate blow to public faith has arisen recently, with the virtual nullification of nearly a century of laws seeking to curb campaign fund-raising. Last summer, the House passed campaign finance reform legislation, only to see it die in the Senate. As a result, the nation's two biggest political parties have completed their transformation from representing popular constituencies to serving as fund-raising machines that cater to special interests.

In the election last November, voter turnout dropped to the lowest levels since World War II. But in the next year, Americans will have a new opportunity to escape their political cynicism from the grip of corruption and cynicism. They can press Congress to restore the fund-raising rules guiding campaigns since 1907, when the ban on corporate donations to federal elections was enacted. In 1947, union donations were outlawed. In 1974 strict ceilings were placed on donations by rich individuals and political action committees. Now these laws have all been circumvented by the deviously conceived fiction that the parties can raise so-called soft money outside federal regulations, as long as it is ostensibly for the parties, not for candidates, and as long as the money is used for "issue ads" that do not use the magic words "vote for" or "vote against."

The soft-money loophole was first seriously exploited in the 1988 campaign. By 1996, Mr. Clinton and his Republican rival, Bob Dole, elevated it to a high art. The two parties combined raised and spent \$260 million in soft money that year, and the White House opened its doors to Lincoln Bedroom sleep-overs, coffees and other receptions for eager donors. Mr. Clinton could say that these unlimited sums from corporations, rich donors and unions were going to the party and therefore were legal. But the contributors all knew they were buying influence with the Clinton administration.

The scariest aspect of the White House fund-raising was the willingness to have the soft-money loophole exploited by foreign interests. Some \$3 million in contributions had to be returned by the Democrats because it was found to have originated overseas. This month, The New York Times reported that investigators had found a systematic effort by China to gain access to technology and perhaps influence American policies — just as Taiwan and other governments have done, by opening their checkbooks to lobbyists and other agents — though no link to the party contributions was established. In October, a federal district judge ruled that the ban on foreign campaign donations did not apply to soft money. If that ruling stands, or Congress does not quickly reverse the statute to broaden the ban on foreign contributions, the soft-money loophole guarantees more attempts by foreign and domestic interests to corrupt the system.

Not that the Republicans were blameless. They deplored Mr. Clinton's excesses, but the 1997 Senate hearings led by Fred Thompson demonstrated that the Republicans also lapped foreign

money in 1996. The Republicans engaged in their own domestic money abuses as well. In return for six-figure donations, a Republican soft-money contributor could get meetings with Republican congressional leaders and committee chairmen. Money from oil, gas and mining interests led to Republican attempts to open up wilderness areas to exploitation and ease laws on clean air and clean water.

In 1997, Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, flew to Las Vegas with his chief fund-raiser, Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, to harvest money from gambling interests. This year the Senate killed efforts to eliminate certain tax breaks for big-time gamblers.

Tobacco is another industry for which money talks. Mr. McConnell has been especially adept at harvesting tobacco money and then killing any chance of tough legislation that would crack down on tobacco products. But there has been a bipartisan cast to the special-interest game. Republicans and Democrats alike favor "privatizing" at least a part of Social Security to create independent investment accounts, offering a bonanza for the financial-services industry, which would invest the pension money.

That industry just happens to be the biggest donor to both parties.

There was a chance this year that these corrupt schemes would be ended by administrative action. But in an unforgivable dereliction of duty, Attorney General Janet Reno failed to pursue the clear violation of the letter and spirit of the campaign laws. Both Louis Freeh, the FBI director, and her own hand-picked investigator into the election scandals, Charles La Bella, recommended an independent counsel to investigate the subject. She refused.

The paradox is that clear majorities in both the Senate and House favor campaign reform. Last summer, the House approved legislation sponsored by Christopher Shays of Connecticut and Martin Meehan of Massachusetts to curb fund-raising excesses, by a vote of 252 to 179. The Shays-Meehan bill would have banned soft money and applied all existing federal restrictions to party fund-raising and fund-raising by so-called independent groups when the money is used for campaign-related attack ads broadcast two months before an election. The Congress should also replace the lame Federal Election Commission with a serious enforcement agency.

Many ailments, large and small, afflict the American political system right now. No one is pretending that campaign finance reform, by itself, will cure corruption or ease the voters' cynicism. These are not revolutionary changes. What is needed is a restoration of a system that has existed for most of modern American history. If the current system is not changed, the candidates will likely raise and spend \$500 million to \$750 million in unlimited soft-money donations from corporations, unions and rich donors in the next two years. Whoever is elected, the legislative and executive branches of government will be more and more beholden to the forces that give the money. That corruption cannot be allowed. Reform can happen, if the voters demand it and lawmakers hear their plea.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## The Old World of Europe Is Entering a New Era

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Europe's major powers end the year in motion. They have fashioned a flurry of fresh initiatives from the arrival of a new government in Germany, a new concern in Britain about trans-Atlantic relations and a new look in France at European defense.

As important as the content of the initiatives is the way in which they are being shaped: without decisive input from the United States, even on issues that involve vital U.S. interests.

The Europeans are not dispensing with the indispensable nation. Some of their moves are intended — in their eyes at least — to strengthen ties with Washington. Even the French are being careful to avoid open challenges to U.S. leadership in Europe on political and defense issues.

But the palpable mood of ferment in European institutions has provoked questions from the Clinton administration to its chief European allies about the pace and direction of an economic, political and defense integration within the 15-nation European Union. Washington favors integration — up to a point.

The defeat in September of Helmut Kohl in the German elections by a Social Democrat-Green coalition under Gerhard Schröder has created a

new political tone in Europe. Eleven of the EU's governments are now led by Socialists or other center-left parties. They speak something of a common political language, even if national interests still dictate their stands on contentious issues.

German interests are now asserted by Mr. Schröder's government without the deference Mr. Kohl gave Paris on European unity and Washington on global issues. This is a generational change as much as a political one. And it must be taken into account as the Berlin republic gives notice it is no longer the willing paymaster for European construction or a silent partner on NATO strategy.

The second driving force for political and policy adjustments on both sides of the Atlantic is the creation of a new European currency, the euro, which becomes a unit of account for 11 EU members on New Year's Day.

It will be two years before the euro replaces the franc, mark, peseta and other currencies in daily use and five or more years before it begins to rival the dollar as an international medium of exchange. But the coordinated interest rate cut by 11 central banks on Dec. 3,

which was smoothly managed by the new European Central Bank, demonstrated that the euro is already a force to be reckoned with.

This is even — perhaps especially — true for Tony Blair's New Labour majority in Britain, which has opted to stay out of the euro zone in its first parliamentary term. Mr. Blair is determined to show that Britain will not be frozen out of Europe's significant decisions on unity simply because his government is not in on the euro ground floor.

U.S. officials assume that is one reason Britain has been so active in recent weeks on the European defense front. After proposing a serious review of Europe's defense capabilities, Mr. Blair joined President Jacques Chirac of France on Dec. 4 in signing a "Joint Declaration on European Defense," the sweep of which caught Clinton policymakers by surprise.

The declaration represents movement by both Paris and London toward a European command structure within NATO that would give EU bodies new responsibilities and powers. NATO would remain primarily responsible for European defense — France dropped some of its long-standing theology on that point — while Britain for the first time signed up to defense policies

being coordinated in and by the EU. But Mr. Blair seems to have more in mind than merely balancing off Britain's absence in monetary integration. He also is said to be looking forward to the 50th anniversary NATO summit in Washington in April, when he feels Europe must show Congress that it is prepared to shoulder more responsibilities in any future Bosnia or Kosovo risk or a significant U.S. backlash.

Europe at large is anxious about the administration's planning for the anniversary summit meeting, on which Washington will spend \$20 million to \$30 million. Europeans fear the April celebration will degenerate into an exercise in American Cold War triumphalism, a political glorification of Bill Clinton to save his domestic wounds, or both.

Putting such a cast on the meeting would be a strategic error in the coming year, which will be one of significant change in and for Europe.

No one is likely to proclaim 1999 the Year of Europe. Too many remember the disasters that befell the Continent when 1973 was so dubbed. But Americans will want to watch the old Continent closely as it finally moves from the Cold War to the cusp of a new millennium and a new era.

The Washington Post

## A U.S. Church Group in China Is Fooled Again

By Jeff Jacoby

BOSTON — There was a time when Andrew Young had no difficulty recognizing persecution. There was a time when he lifted his voice for victims and made no excuses for oppressors.

But the civil rights movement in which Mr. Young rose to prominence ended long ago. His mentor, Martin Luther King, has been gone these 30 years. And the moral stature Mr. Young acquired in his youth he seems willing to squander as he approaches old age.

Mr. Young recently traveled to China with a small delegation from the National Council of Churches, of which he is president-elect. China is in its fourth year of a brutal government crackdown on Christian religious activity; more than 140 underground church members have been arrested in just the last few weeks. Mr. Young might have been expected to

speak out on their behalf and condemn the Communist regime for its cruelty. He might have been expected, for example, to demand justice for Cheng Meiyang — an evangelist from Hunan Province who was arrested Oct. 26 and taken to the prison in Wugang, where the police beat and whipped her so ferociously that she became brain-damaged.

What Mr. Young said, however, was: "We found no sign of religious repression." And: "Did we find religious freedom in the U.S. sense? No. But we found no active persecution."

To be sure, it is no crime to be a Christian in the People's Republic of China — so long as you worship in an officially registered "patriotic" church, with ministers who have been approved by the Communist

Party and who renounce all ties to any overseas entity.

Which means that it is a crime for a Chinese Catholic to proclaim the authority of the Pope. It is a crime to hold a prayer meeting in an unofficial "house church." It is a crime to travel the country and preach the Gospel. It is a crime to speak in tongues, to baptize children, to teach of a second coming, or to condemn abortion.

Has the National Council of Churches anything to say about this? It does. "Christians in China," declared the group's general secretary, Joan Brown Campbell, "are terribly offended at the tide of rumor that there's widespread, terrible persecution and asked us to advocate for a more accurate portrayal of their situation."

Beijing makes no secret of its anti-religious bigotry. Ye Xi-

awen, head of the Religious Affairs Bureau, calls house churches "evil, illegal organizations that undermine social order." But Mr. Young and his group, blind to the suffering of their fellow Christians, give their seal of approval to the world's largest dictatorship.

Walter Winchell remarked in 1938 that the reason Neville Chamberlain flew to Munich to see Hitler was because "you can't tick a man's boots over the phone." It is not hard to figure out why Andrew Young flew to China.

The bootlicking of totalitarianism is an old story with the National Council of Churches.

In 1978 it published "China: Search for Community," which described the Cultural Revolution — a time of heart-stopping savagery, when Mao's Red Guards imprisoned, tortured, or killed tens of thousands of victims — as an "outstanding

campaign" for "moral renewal" that "emphasized community interest, anti-elitism, commitment to revolutionary social goals, dignity of manual labor, equality of women and men, and education for the common people."

A decade later a council of officials told Congress that North Koreans — then ruled by Kim Il Sung, a Stalinist tyrant — "are proud of their beautiful cities, schools, health facilities, apartments, immigration projects, dams, and locks."

So nothing has changed at the National Council of Churches.

This Christmas, millions of Chinese Christians have at great risk celebrated the birth of their savior. May God watch over them and shield them from harm. The National Council of Churches surely won't.

The writer is a columnist for The Boston Globe.

## A Few Historical Reflections on the Censure Option

By David S. Broder

WASHINGTON — On April 11, 1951, Congress was up in arms about President Harry Truman's dismissal of General Douglas MacArthur as commander of United Nations forces in Korea. Republicans were furious that Mr. Truman had sacked the national hero for insubordination. The House Republican leader Joe Martin and Senator Bill Jenner of Indiana threatened impeachment, but Senator Richard Nixon of California had a better idea. Mr. Nixon "proposed a Senate resolution of censure, saying the president 'has not acted in the best interests of the American people.'"

This nugget of history, retrieved from the microfilm files of The Washington Post, sheds light on the current drive to wind up the controversy over President Bill Clinton by a similar censure resolution.

The proposal to censure Mr. Clinton, rather than subject him to an impeachment trial in the Senate, has impeccable sponsorship and motivation. Former Presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter have unveiled their version of the idea. "The time has come," they wrote, "to put aside political differences and plant seeds of justice and reconciliation."

Former Senator Bob Dole is lobbying for such a solution, generously seeking to rescue the Democrat who defeated him for the presidency in 1996 from

the threat of being forced out of office. That Mr. Ford and Mr. Dole both worry about the damage their Republican Party may suffer if it continues to push for Mr. Clinton's ouster does not diminish the public-spiritedness of their action.

After the searing partisanship of the House impeachment process, a bipartisan censure resolution that would bring an end to this sad chapter of White House history has enormous appeal. Still, it may be better to consider the implications now, rather than stumble over them after the fact.

Censure is not mentioned in the constitution, but neither are many other accepted features of

our governmental life, ranging from the Federal Reserve Board to the presidential nominating conventions. The only previous presidential censure, aimed at Andrew Jackson by a hostile Senate, was expunged by a subsequent Congress. But that is not a fatal flaw.

It is a reminder, however, that we have little basis for judging the effect of such a resolution, or even how seriously it would be taken by the target of the verbal spanking. Mr. Clinton is famous for his ability to compartmentalize, and even if he were required to sign a censure resolution, he might consign it to the most remote corner of his consciousness.

Many of the same Democratic House members who on Dec. 19 professed their willingness to censure Mr. Clinton for having "egregiously failed" in his responsibilities and "dishonored the office" of president, were by afternoon backslapping the same man and cheering him as "one of our greatest presidents," to quote Vice President Al Gore.

At a minimum, that White House spectacle must raise questions whether censure by Congress would be greeted with more than a shrug by this president on his way to a fund-raiser or a round of golf.

The more serious question is what precedent would be established by the legislative branch in opening a new avenue to admonish a collateral branch of government. Presidents often

take actions that offend Congress, as Mr. Truman did in forcibly reminding General MacArthur who was commander in chief. Mr. Nixon's threat to censure Mr. Truman went nowhere in a Republican Senate, in part because such an action lacked any modern precedent. But now one may be created.

Once established, it could be used often — to reprimand the judicial branch as well as the executive. Under Chief Justice Earl Warren, the Supreme Court regularly outraged Congress with its decisions on civil rights, reapportionment of voting districts, criminal rights and banning school prayer.

Congress never attempted seriously to impeach Earl Warren. But majorities were certainly ready to censure his decisions. What would the impact of such a censure have been on respect for the court and compliance with its rulings? No one can say.

Separation of powers is central to the structure of our government. When one branch starts handing out formal report cards on another, it certainly departs from the constitution and it may produce dangerous consequences.

The constitution's remedy for serious charges of abuse of executive or judicial office is impeachment. The inconvenience of a Senate trial must be weighed against the potential costs of "the Nixon solution."

The Washington Post

## Time for Subcontinental Realism

By Sunanda K. Datta-Ray

SINGAPORE — The recent visit of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan to the United States strengthened the general impression that peace or war in South Asia hinge on the running sore of Kashmir and nuclear one-upmanship.

But they are really only the symptoms of a much deeper tension that must be addressed if the two neighbors are ever to live in harmony. Even if some magic wand were to wish away both problems, the underlying insecurity and mistrust would surface in some other way unless India and Pakistan can bring themselves to shape a future that reflects their shared past. That would flesh out the dream of a South Asian economic union that also embraces Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and the Maldives.

The latest proposal for an "economic bridge" to make cooperation attractive and political squabbling unwelcome, mooted by India's Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party government, might have a chance of succeeding, but only if two conditions are met. First, Pakistan must reconcile itself to geopolitical reality. And second, India must pursue seriously the imaginative concept of asymmetrical relations that a former Indian prime minister, Indira Kumar Prasad, saw as the only answer to the challenge of disparity.

Religion is part of the prob-

lem, but its divisive effect is easily exaggerated since as many Muslims live in Hindu-majority India as in Islamic Pakistan. More relevant is the search in both countries for a viable identity. India's relative success in forging a sense of secular nationhood, despite ethnic and communal hiccups, became clear in August when politicians across the spectrum united to foil the BJP's attempt to give education a Hindu gloss.

In contrast, Mr. Sharif's retreat to Koranic law, ignoring the white stripe in the country's flag that Pakistan's founding father, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, inserted to represent the mainly Hindu minority, indicates that Pakistan is still groping for a national culture.

Jinnah would also have been grieved to hear Mr. Sharif argue, as he did during his 1990-93 incarnation as prime minister, that the bomb was needed not to defend or deter, but to make "it clear to responsible international powers [read the United States] that Pakistan should be treated at par with India in the world community."

That India remains the primary reference point for Pakistan's rulers after 51 years of sovereign existence exposes a lack of confidence that also explains Islamabad's desperate attempts to turn its back on cultural and historical links in the subcontinent and seek identification instead with the

Middle East and Central Asia.

The complex web persists until Pakistan accepts that geography is destiny. The advantages of India's size (four times Pakistan's), population (seven times bigger), industrial base, and engineering and scientific skills will not go away.

However, no amount of concessions by Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee will have the slightest effect unless the Americans, who built up Pakistan militarily during the Cold War, accept the need for rapprochement on a durable basis. Pakistan's tit-for-tat nuclear tests in May were the direct outcome of decades of U.S. indoctrination that the much smaller country must match its bigger neighbor in every way.

Instead of scurrying around trying to unscramble nuclear arsenals or aggravating the Kashmir dispute with maledict statements, U.S. diplomats should convince Islamabad that no Indian government would compound its domestic problems by swallowing 134 million truculent Pakistanis. Nor would India be at all comfortable if Pakistan's disintegration led to the emergence of a number of unstable ethnic-fundamentalist states on its western flank.

A strong and self-confident Pakistan can only contribute to India's security and stability.

The writer, a former editor of The Statesman in India, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

## 1898: Dog fashion

PARIS — Says the "Daily Chronicle": In spite of the ridicule that has been cast upon it, the absurd practice of providing costumes for canine pets still prevails in Paris. In the windows of the dog tailors may be seen little astrakhan overcoats with linings of pink or blue satin. For traveling there are lighter wraps fastened round the waist by belts of tanned leather. Every well-dressed dog has a collar appropriate to his breed. A Great Dane should wear Mexican iguana skin. For smaller animals fashion dictates a white calf-skin necktie set with turquoise.

## 1923: No Longer Heir

COPENHAGEN — Having publicly announced his engagement to Miss Lois Booth, of Ottawa, Prince Erik, first cousin to the King, has renounced his title of "Prince of Denmark"

and all claims to the throne. The King has consented to the marriage. Miss Booth is the granddaughter of Mr. John R. Booth, known as the Canadian Lumber King. Prince Erik, who has been ranching for some years in Western Canada, met Miss Booth at Lake Louise. The marriage is expected to take place in the spring at Ottawa.

## 1948: Cardinal Held

BUDAPEST — Hungary's primate, Josef Cardinal Mindszenty, was detained on charges of planning to overthrow the Republic, espionage, treason, and black-market currency dealings. The development brought to a head the bitter struggle in Hungary between the Church and Communism. Mindszenty against the cardinal hinged on two main points: his opposition to nationalization of Catholic schools, and his contacts with American relief organizations.

## Herald Tribune

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Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5, Cantonment Road, Singapore 11900. Tel: (65) 472-7768. Fax: (65) 274-2334.  
Ming Pao, Hong Kong: Tel: (852) 2522-1188. Fax: (852) 2522-1190.  
U.S. Office: 850 Third Ave., New York, N.Y. 10022. Tel: (212) 752-3800. Fax: (212) 752-3785.  
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LANGUAGE

It's Time for 'Nyah, Nyah - Gotcha!'

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — This space has been hijacked this week by the Gotcha! Gang, a growing legion of readers who take premeditated delight in exposing the grammatical errors of the resident columnist. Their motto: "No Hayen for the Maven." (Excuse me, its motto.)

From N. Lewis of Croydon, New Hampshire: "You write, 'A column in this space titled 'The Asian Connection' had just appeared, followed the next day by a front-page article about John Huang's fund-raising in The Wall Street Journal.'"

John Huang was doubtless a very active fellow, but I doubt he was engaged in "fund-raising in The Wall Street Journal."

Max Culpa for Mayor. Huang was surely not chasing the editor Robert Bartley, down that newspaper's corridors, seeking contributions to the Clinton campaign.

A prepositional phrase like in The Wall Street Journal is a modifier and should copy up intimately to the noun it modifies, lest another, closer noun be mistaken for the term being modified. In this case, the noun phrase being modified was a front-page article, but I put so many words in between that it is possible to think that fund-raising was the modified term. The philologist Richard Lederer had a good example of this abuse of prepositional-phrase position: "Lincoln wrote the Gettysburg Address while traveling from Washington to Gettysburg on the back of an envelope."

From Ed Cashin of Hastings-on-Hudson, New York: "You say, 'He offers the other two branches of government the choice, but you mean 'the two other branches.' Otherwise, we would have four branches of government."

You know, he has got a point. I never thought of that before. Other is called a "possessive" because it usually comes after words that are determiners, like numerals or other quantifiers that make a noun phrase specific. Thus, when I wrote the other two branches, it could be thought to stand against these two branches — totaling, as my eagle-eyed critic observes, four branches.

But if I had written the two other branches, there could be no doubt that only three branches exist.

Some would call this pedantry, but I stand corrected, and in turn correct David Schippers, majority counsel of the House Judiciary Committee, for his castigation of the president's disdain for "the integrity of the other two coequal branches." Cashin is hereby appointed recording secretary of the Nip-pickers' League, a highly sophisticated subgroup of the Gotcha! Gang whose membership is in constant turmoil about writing its name Nip-pickers' League.

Two weeks ago, in reviewing Bryan Garner's Dictionary of Modern American Usage, I misquoted him by writing that "that historic differentiation" between enormity ("outrageousness") and enormeness ("hugeness") should be upheld.

Garner correctly wrote historical. Robert Burchfield's New Fowler's Modern English Usage quotes a forgetful maven on that: "Any past event is historical, but only the most memorable ones are historic."

Now to the alleged mistake that drew the most mail. In a line about the pronunciation of status, I wrote, "That is usually pronounced STAT-us, as in statistics, by the highfalutin, and STATE-us by the hoi polloi."

From Jim Tart of Dallas: "My daughter Katie tells me that her eighth-grade teacher would have smacked her in the head with her grammar book had she said 'the hoi polloi.' Katie says hoi polloi means 'the masses,' and therefore should never be preceded by the. Live by the sword and die by the sword."

Thank you, Mr. Tart. (And when Katie comes by with her spelling book opened to precede, watch your head.) Curiously, this seeming redundancy in regard to a foreign phrase apparently infuriates Greek scholars. "Wrong!" shouts Stephen Esrafi of Shaker Heights, Ohio. "Hoi means 'the.' "No doubt about that. Wrote Ronald Serfentine of Butler, Pennsylvania: "One does not say 'the hoi polloi' for the same reason that one does not say 'with au jus.' How plead you?"

Innocent with an explanation, your honor. Take that French phrase first: When you order roast beef au jus,

pronounced oh-ZHOO, you are using the French for "in its juice" (literally, "with juice"). Your waitress is in error if she treats that phrase as a noun and asks, "You want the au jus on the side?" Correct her, and you will soon have a chemise au jus. In the same way, if you correct an inviter who writes, "Please R.S.V.P.," you won't get asked again to Repondez s'il vous plait (literally, "Respond, if you please").

Those are two-language redundancies not yet given absolution by all-forgiving usage. When we speak of "the hoi polloi," however, we are firmly grounded in an error that common usage over centuries has erased. Certainly, the hoi polloi translates formally and redundantly as "the masses," causing speakers of Greek and members of the Squad Squad to look at you with disdain. But the English idiom is the hoi polloi. Sometime next century, we will write that as hoi polloi to reflect its Anglicization.

Robert Burchfield, in the third edition of Fowler's, calls the hidebound resistance to the in front of the Greek phrase "an attempt to force Greek grammar on the receiving language." He writes: "Dryden and Byron wrote 'the oi polloi' and who is to quarrel with them? And who is prepared to 'correct' W.S. Gilbert's lines from 'Iolanthe,' 'Two fill with joy, And maddest stark/the oi polloi (a Greek remark)'"

Though willing to go along with the usage roundbells on permitting that redundancy, I hang tough on semantics. The meaning of the hoi polloi should remain "the masses," or in less-Marxist-sounding terms, "ordinary folk."

When the writer Pete Hamill told the interviewer Charlie Rose, "Sinatra threw a party for Agnew in Palm Springs with all the hoi polloi in attendance," Francis Dyer of New York objected, noting that the phrase had not taken on a new meaning of "important people, upper classes or swells."

That upside-down usage occurs often. The confusion comes from the similarity of the noun hoi polloi and the adjective hoi polloi, a rhyming compound from the English dialect term hoi. "to play the fool," which has come to mean "foolishly snooty." (What a pleasure it is to get back to correcting other people's mistakes.)

New York Times Service

BOOKS

DRAGONFLY  
NASA and the Crisis Aboard Mir  
by Bryan Burrough. 528 pages.  
\$26.95. HarperCollins.

Reviewed by Peter Maass

SPACE FLIGHT is in vogue again. The journey of John Glenn has refocused attention on the fascinating spectacle of humans soaring into the heavens on rockets that make the ground tremble. Glenn's voyage may have seemed a bit stage-managed, but you would need to be heartless not to draw some satisfaction from the show. NASA has launched itself into a public relations orbit, getting high-fives from the public and politicians.

It is easy to forget that just a year ago NASA was mired in controversy, facing withering criticism for flying Americans on Russia's space station, Mir, which came from one near-disaster to another. First there was a fire on board, and that was followed by a collision, and that was followed by computer failures, power failures, oxygen-generating failures and pretty much every sort of failure that might afflict a space station.

Those events, which played out like a cosmic tragedy, were front-page news for a while, but Mir eventually steadied itself and fell off the journalistic radar screen once its last American passenger returned to Earth earlier this year. Mir seems like ancient and irrelevant history now, but Bryan Burrough brings it to life in his remarkable book "Dragonfly: NASA and the Crisis Aboard Mir."

He reveals a space agency so riddled with infighting that, for instance, two astronauts training for the same flight on Mir stopped speaking to each other. Tales of intrigue at NASA are not new, but Burrough, a special correspondent for Vanity Fair and co-author of the best-selling "Barbarians at the Gate," has come up with much that was unknown, based partly on NASA documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act.

His book probably will become required reading, and entertaining reading, for anyone who wants to understand the dysfunction of our space agency.

Burrough interviewed key officials,

astronauts and cosmonauts in the Mir saga, and he has come up with some reportorial gems. We learn, for instance, that shortly after the collision that nearly destroyed Mir, the NASA astronaut on board, Michael Smith, tried to bolster the sagging spirits of his Russian crew mates by showing, on a computer monitor, the movie "Apollo 13." Foale gave a running translation into Russian, and his play worked.

"That film is the best of the best," Vasily Tsibilyev, Mir's beleaguered commander, later told Burrough. The outlines of the drama on Mir are already known — the decay of the craft's mechanical systems after 11 years in orbit; the psychological erosion of commander Tsibilyev; the almost universal dislike of the astronaut Jerry Linenger; the heroism of his successor, Foale; the mistrust between NASA and the Russians; the horrendous planning at mission control that made a collision all but inevitable.

Yet Burrough ties the story together with illuminating details gleaned, in part, from previously unpublished recordings of conversations between Mir and mission control. We read, for example, that a few minutes after the collision on June 25, 1997, Tsibilyev told ground control, "Oh, hell. We don't know where the air leak is." Asked to seal off the module from which air is leaking, he said, "We can't close anything. Here everything is so screwed up that we can't close anything."

"Dragonfly" is not just a post-mortem, it is a prescription for the future. On Saturday NASA and the Russian Space Agency launched the first module of the International Space Station, a successor to Mir. The book's greatest value lies in the way it exposes rivalries in Houston and Moscow that make space flight a miracle not because of the technical challenges that must be overcome, but because of the bureaucratic impediments that hamstring many missions.

Most appalling, Burrough examines the culture of fear among astronauts afraid of saying or doing anything that might displease George Abbey, the director of the Johnson Space Center who can determine who flies and who does not. Burrough likens Abbey to, among

others, Rasputin and J. Edgar Hoover. Although fear of powerful bureaucrats exists in every federal agency, the consequences are alarming, at NASA because astronauts, Burrough contends, are afraid to voice concerns about safety problems or ill-designed missions.

Burrough also shows that scientific research, trumpeted by NASA as a key justification for space flight, is window dressing. Just as the Apollo program was driven by the need to get to the moon before the Russians, today's program is driven primarily by political motives, in this case propping up the Russian Space Agency and bolstering U.S.-Russian relations.

Burrough comes up with a delightful example. When Norm Thagard, the first American on Mir, returned to Earth after more than three months in space, NASA doctors wanted to administer a battery of immediate tests before his body began readjusting to gravity. But they were told to cut short the tests because the administrator of NASA, Dan Goldin, wanted to hold a news conference at which he intended to serve an ice cream sundae to Thagard.

This book has minor problems. It jumps too rapidly from one setting to another, from Houston to Moscow to Mir to Washington, and the revolving cast of characters is so large that readers unfamiliar with the American or Russian space programs may get confused. The extracts of official documents and conversations are useful, but Burrough occasionally seems to paste one extract and quote after another. The quickness with which this book has been brought out, just a year after the headlines it grew from, makes it timely, but the haste shows. It has none of the literary dazzle of Tom Wolfe's "The Right Stuff."

These are small complaints. Burrough has done a splendid job of examining an agency that is entrusted with our dreams of exploring space. If the right people take notice of this book, as they should, our dreams of going to Mars and beyond stand a greater chance of being turned into a reality.

Peter Maass, author of "Love Thy Neighbor: A Story of War," a chronicle of the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, wrote this for The Washington Post.

BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

ONE of the game's leading theories died last month in Somerville, New Jersey. He was Dave Cliff, and he was the first to develop a comprehensive relay system in which one player makes minimum bids to ask questions and the other describes his hand.

The system included the "Denial Cue-Bid," a highly significant idea. Although they required much intellectual effort, Cliff's ideas were adopted by several experts and helped them win one world title and several national ones.

This started a trend, and relay systems of various kinds are now common among top players around the world. Cliff was also the originator of the splinter bid, a dramatic leap in an imbed suit to show a fit with partner, shortness in the suit bid, and slam interest. He also enlarged the theory of responding to

strong two-club bids and weak two-bids, and rebidding after a Stayman response to one no-trump.

On the diagrammed deal from 1976, Cliff held the South hand and pushed aggressively to six spades after he had opened one spade and West had overcalled in clubs. After a heart lead, it might seem that South was doomed to lose two club tricks. But he found a way to create a problem for the defense. After winning the heart lead, he led all his trumps and all his remaining cards. Before the last heart was led, the position was as shown at right.

On the last heart West decided that South could have a small singleton club and the doubleton ace-queen of diamonds. To avoid a hypothetical endplay, he discarded the

club ace, with disastrous results. Cliff led the club king, and made his slam with an improbable overtrick.

East should have helped his partner by throwing the club jack as well as the nine. Nevertheless it was a fine creative effort by Cliff, bringing home an "immakable" slam.

Diagrammed deal:  
North (Declarer):  
♠ A K Q  
♥ A K  
♦ A K  
♣ A K  
South:  
♠ J 10 7 6 5  
♥ 7 5  
♦ Q 10 7 6 5  
♣ J 9  
West:  
♠ K Q J 8 4  
♥ A K Q 9 8  
♦ A  
♣ K 5  
East:  
♠ 10 7 6 5  
♥ 7 5  
♦ Q 10 7 6 5  
♣ J 9  
The bidding:  
North South West East  
1 ♠ 1 ♠ 1 ♠ 1 ♠  
2 ♠ 2 ♠ 2 ♠ 2 ♠  
3 ♠ 3 ♠ 3 ♠ 3 ♠  
4 ♠ 4 ♠ 4 ♠ 4 ♠  
5 ♠ 5 ♠ 5 ♠ 5 ♠  
6 ♠ 6 ♠ 6 ♠ 6 ♠  
7 ♠ 7 ♠ 7 ♠ 7 ♠  
West led the heart jack.

INTERNATIONAL



Sef Meshadan, an Iraqi lawmaker, shouting an anti-American slogan Sunday in Amman, Jordan, at an emergency meeting of the Arab Parliamentary Union called to respond to the U.S.-British attack on Iraq. The group demanded an end to the sanctions against Baghdad.

Iraq Vows to Reject Aid And to Oust UN Monitors

The Associated Press

BAGHDAD — Iraq increased the pressure in its confrontation with the United Nations on Sunday, saying it would reject an extension of a UN-monitored program that feeds civilians and order aid monitors to leave.

Trade Minister Mohammed Mehdi Saleh did not say when Baghdad would ask the UN staff to depart. The latest phase of the aid program, under which Iraq is allowed to sell some oil for food, expires at the end of April.

The tough talk came only a day after Iraq said it would fire on U.S. and British warplanes patrolling a "no-fly" zone imposed after the 1991 Gulf War. Iraqi officials said that anti-aircraft guns were prepared to open fire on planes patrolling such zones over northern and southern Iraq.

"Violating Iraqi airspace is an aggression," Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan said.

"The so-called force of no-fly zones must end," he said. "The so-called no-fly zones only exist in the British and American imagination."

Iraq has never recognized the zones and has occasionally confronted aircraft flying in the areas.

The United States and Britain have said that they will continue to enforce the zones.

"Our pilots can act in self-defense if they feel threatened at any time," said P. J. Crowley, a spokesman for the National Security Council in Washington. Iraq said that its anti-aircraft guns drove off an attack Saturday by "enemy" warplanes.

Officials in Washington and London said that pilots patrolling the southern no-fly zone saw anti-aircraft fire in the distance, but were in no danger.

The United States, Britain and France set up the zones in 1991-92 to halt air attacks against Kurdish rebels in the north and Shiite Muslims in the south.

The Iraqi statement came as a group of Arab legislators meeting in Amman, Jordan, condemned the U.S.-British attacks on Iraq this month as "unjust aggression." They also called on their governments to work on the lifting of the UN trade embargo against Iraq, which has crippled the country's economy.

A statement at the end of a one-day

meeting of the Arab Parliamentary Union described the attacks as "unjust U.S.-British aggression" on Iraq.

It was the first time since the 1991 Gulf War that a pan-Arab body has given its full support to Iraq. It was unclear whether any of the Arab governments would respond to the recommendations.

The oil-for-food deal brings crucial supplies, such as flour, lentils, rice sugar and medicine, to people suffering after eight years of UN sanctions. It might seem unlikely that Iraq would cancel the deal without an easing of the embargo on broader exports of its oil. Iraq, however, has long feared that the humanitarian program is eroding support for an easing of the sanctions on humanitarian grounds.

"Iraq refuses the continuation of this project and demands the lifting of sanctions," Mr. Saleh said. "This means the ouster of UN teams which supervise it."

About 400 UN workers monitor the oil-for-food deal to ensure that the Iraqi government does not divert any of the money or aid and use it for its own purposes. The arrangement began in December 1996.

The latest six-month phase allows Iraq to sell \$5.2 billion in oil to buy needed supplies. About 3 percent of that money is used to pay the humanitarian aid monitors, the expenses needed to administer the program and to finance the work of weapons inspectors in Iraq. Another 30 percent goes to compensate victims of Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait and the subsequent Gulf War.

"Iraq is bearing huge expenses which it pays to these UN personnel and they do nothing apart from verifying that the imports have reached Iraqi ports," Mr. Saleh said.

The UN has maintained that the embargo, which was imposed after the invasion of Kuwait, cannot be lifted until the weapons inspectors verify that Iraq is free of weapons of mass destruction.

The United States and Britain began four days of punishing air strikes Dec. 16 after the weapons inspectors released a report saying that Baghdad was blocking their work.

Iraq has said it will not allow the UN arms monitors to resume their work.

A Top Figure In Likud Bloc Won't Fight Netanyahu

The Associated Press

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu cleared a major hurdle Sunday in his bid for re-election when a top contender within the Likud party dropped out of the race.

Another challenge to Mr. Netanyahu's leadership from within Likud was announced by Uzi Landau, 55, chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee in the Knesset, or Parliament.

In addition, Benny Begin, son of former Prime Minister Menachem Begin and one of the Likud's most staunchly right-wing members, has decided to leave Likud and run for prime minister as the head of a new rightist party. Mr. Begin was due to announce his candidacy Monday.

But neither Mr. Begin nor Mr. Landau is considered likely to unseat Mr. Netanyahu, and the Netanyahu critic within Likud who was rated as having the best chance, Ehud Olmert, the mayor of Jerusalem, took himself out of the race Sunday.

Mr. Olmert, who has campaigned for the construction of the Har Homa Jewish neighborhood in traditionally Arab East Jerusalem, had been considered the only Likud member with enough stature to have a fighting chance against Mr. Netanyahu.

He reportedly decided to bow out after failing to enlist the support of Defense Minister Yitzhak Mordechai, who is popular among the Sephardim, or Jews from Middle Eastern countries.

Mr. Mordechai, a moderate who has urged Mr. Netanyahu to accelerate the peace process with the Palestinians, has said that he will not leave Likud and that he is standing by Mr. Netanyahu, Israeli radio said.

Although he said he would not interfere in Israeli politics, the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, asserted Sunday that Mr. Netanyahu's government had stopped carrying out the Wye land-for-security accord reached in the United States two months ago.

"The Israeli side has frozen completely everything," Mr. Arafat said.

The lack of a serious challenger has strengthened Mr. Netanyahu's chances to again be named the party's candidate.

The Likud Central Committee was to meet later Sunday. The panel is to prepare for the selection of a party leader and begin the process of choosing a list of candidates for the Knesset.

The Likud candidate for prime minister is expected to face the Labor Party leader, Ehud Barak, in elections. The date of the balloting is likely to be set soon by Parliament. But there are also several candidates forming centrist parties, and that could complicate the process.

The recently retired army chief of staff, Lieutenant General Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, is expected to be the candidate of a centrist party. Both he and Mr. Barak were protégés of former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and according to Eitan Haber, a former Rabin aide, if the two both run, Mr. Netanyahu will win.

"If the shoe drops and the heavens deem it so that Barak and Shahak run separately, with the support of fallen angels and an overload of ego," Mr. Haber wrote in the daily Yedioth Ahronoth, "then even today I can tell you who will become the next prime minister of Israel: Benjamin Netanyahu. He and no other, and in a word, we would deserve it."

Mr. Landau represents the right wing within Likud that has been dismayed by Mr. Netanyahu's flip-flops on policy issues.

"Likud has become the party of the moment with a leader who changes course according to the direction of the wind," Mr. Landau said at a news conference in Tel Aviv while announcing his candidacy. "Such victory is not a genuine victory."

The hard-liners were also deeply disappointed by Mr. Netanyahu's signing of the Wye accord, which set the stage for three further withdrawals from the West Bank.

Standing alongside Mr. Landau on Sunday was former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Mr. Shamir, who left office in 1992 after losing to Mr. Rabin of the Labor Party, threw his support to Mr. Landau, saying he was the most suitable candidate to lead the party and the country.

"Benjamin Netanyahu should be replaced," Mr. Shamir was quoted as saying in an interview with Yedioth Ahronoth. "This isn't the Likud I knew as prime minister."

Strasbourg Youths Attack Cars and Buses

The Associated Press

STRASBOURG — Youths in the eastern French city of Strasbourg burned cars and stoned public transit vehicles overnight, officials said Sunday.

The end-of-year violence, a repeat of similar incidents in previous years, broke out after a pop music concert Saturday. Young vandals torched about 20 cars and hurled rocks and other projectiles against a bus and a tram in the working class suburbs of Haute-pierre, and Meinau. There were no injuries or arrests, officials said.

The incidents came during a holiday youth program that included hip-hop, techno and Algerian rai concerts. Last year 500 cars were burned in Strasbourg, 100 more than in 1996.



## HEALTH/SCIENCE

## Drugs, Sports, Image and G.I. Joe

By Natalie Angier  
New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — Which classic American doll has been a staple of childhood for decades, has won iconic status in the culture and possesses a waist so small and hemispheric proportions so pronounced that no real adult could approach them without the help of potentially dangerous body enhancement therapies?

Barbie? Well, yes. But Barbie has a male companion in the land of the outlandish physique, and it isn't Ken. Instead, we must look to a recent model of that old trooper, G.I. Joe, to see a match for Barbie's cartoon anatomy, and to find a doll that may be as insidious a role model for boys as Ms. Triple-D top, Size-2 bottom is for girls.

Some researchers worry that Joe and other action-hero figures may, in minor fashion, help fan the use of muscle-building drugs among young athletes, even as doctors and sports officials struggle to emphasize that such drugs are not only risky, illegal and unsporting, but in many cases worthless in enhancing performance.

Harrison Pope Jr., a psychiatrist at McLean Hospital in Belmont, Massachusetts, has studied how the morphology of G.I. Joe has evolved since the doll was introduced in 1964. Just as Barbie has become gradually thinner and busier, Dr. Pope said, so each new vintage of G.I. Joe has been more muscular and sharply defined, or "cut," than the model before.

The most extraordinary G.I. Joe on the market, "G.I. Joe Extreme," wears a red bandana and an expression of rage. His biceps bulge so much that they are larger around than his waist, and, if ratcheted up to human size, they would be larger than even the arms of the grotesquely muscular Olympians of today, Dr. Pope said.

Hasbro Industries, maker of the G.I.

Joe dolls, disagrees with Dr. Pope's contention that the body type of the standard Joe doll has changed much over the years. The company adds that it has stopped manufacturing the "Extreme" model, although a recent expedition showed that the doll was still available in toy stores.

G.I. Joe is the only action figure that has been around long enough for Dr. Pope to be able to make comparisons between old and new models. But he said that a survey of other popular action figures — Power Rangers, Batman and Cyberton Stryker — showed the same excessive muscularity.

Dr. Pope said the dolls might be planting in boys' minds a template for a human's body that cannot be attained without engaging in obsessive behaviors to build muscle and strip off fat, and then augmenting those efforts with drugs like human growth hormone and anabolic steroids, synthetic versions of the male hormone, testosterone. His study of the evolution of action dolls will be published early next year in *The International Journal of Eating Disorders*.

Prior to 1960, and the introduction of anabolic steroids, even the most dedicated bodybuilders couldn't get larger than a certain maximum size," Dr. Pope said. "Steroids made it possible for men to look as big as supermen, and now we see that standard reflected in our toys for the very young."

Given the ubiquitous images of muscularity, as well as the mounting demands on young athletes to sprint faster, vault higher, lift heavier and otherwise impress cadres of easily disgruntled sports fans, experts say it is not surprising that the use of muscle-enhancing drugs has reached pandemic proportions, even among barely pubescent boys.

About 18 percent of high-school athletes in the United States are thought to use anabolic steroids, about twice the figure of 10 years ago, according to some estimates. Although performance-

enhancing drugs are generally banned by athletic organizations, it is considered laughably easy to cheat and escape detection in drug screens. In addition, health food stores now offer a variety of "nutritional supplements" reputed to have anabolic properties.

The supplements include creatine, DHEA, beta agonists and androstenedione, a precursor of testosterone made famous by the baseball slugger Mark McGwire. Such supplements are not strictly regulated, like drugs, their side effects are uncharted and their effectiveness is unproved.

Doctors have long emphasized the dangers of muscle-building drugs. The use of anabolic steroids lowers the levels of protective high-density lipoproteins, suppresses sperm production and raises the risk of heart attacks, strokes and liver disease. The chronic use of human growth hormone in ultra-high doses has its own hazards, among them an increased risk of arthritis-type disorders, diabetes and some cancers.

**M**ANY researchers say the paradoxical element in the seemingly unstoppable epidemic of using such drugs is that most of them do not work nearly as well as billed. Human growth hormone may increase muscle mass, but bigger does not necessarily mean stronger, said Shalender Bhasin, chief of the division of endocrinology metabolism and molecular medicine at Charles Drew University in Los Angeles.

The extra muscle bulk that comes from steroid use may drag an athlete down without compensating for the added weight through better performance. For any event that requires moving against friction or gravity, Dr. Bhasin said, including sprinting, pole-vaulting or swimming, and for endurance activities like marathon running, taking testosterone may be counterproductive.



Mushroom coral extends feathery polyps to feed, trapping small animals and particles from deep-sea currents.

## Out of the Murky Depths

### An Aquarium Harvests the Sea's Rarest Beasts

By Calvin Sims  
New York Times Service

**M**ONTEREY, California — Miles beneath the turbulent waters of Monterey Bay, research biologists, equipped with a giant robot submersible, advanced sensory equipment and stomachs almost of steel, are collecting some of the rarest sea creatures known to man.

If the biologists of the Monterey Bay Aquarium manage to keep these bizarre animals alive after bringing them back from the abyss, as they say they can, they plan a public exhibit of more than 40 species early next year — the largest display ever of living deep-sea life.

Many of these unusual creatures have never been seen in an aquarium. Indeed, just a decade ago they had hardly been seen by anyone, because they inhabit the walls and floors of dark, underwater canyons more than 3,000 feet (900 meters) deep. While remotely operated robots have been used to retrieve deep-sea animals for several years now, few species brought back from the ocean floor survived for long outside their natural habitat.

But after more than a decade of research and advances in husbandry and life-support systems, the biologists of the Monterey Bay Aquarium say they are confident that they can maintain a variety of deep-sea life long enough for public exhibit. Among the strange creatures they plan to display in the aquarium's new deep sea exhibit, scheduled to open in March, are mushroom corals, predatory tunicates, sea whips, spider crabs, filetail cat sharks, ratfish, feather stars and eelpouts.

"Most people have seen television shows and discovery shows about sea life but those programs deal mainly with what's in the first 150 feet of ocean," said Gil van Dykhuizen, a research biologist at the aquarium. "We have captured creatures from thousands of feet deep — creatures so unusual looking that they appear alien, and we have learned to keep them alive. Most people will never see anything like this in their lifetime."

Beneath the picturesque bay is an underwater canyon more than two miles (3.2 kilometers) deep with steep rocky precipices. The deep-sea exhibit, which will contain 7,000 square feet (650 square meters) of displays, will focus on three of the habitats found in Monterey Bay's canyon: the midwater, vertical canyon wall and sea-floor habitats. The aquarium has spent more than \$5 million over a decade to assemble the exhibit.

But gathering and sustaining these delicate species is no easy task and continues to pose considerable technological and logistical challenges. The success of the exhibit will depend on many factors beyond the biologists' control. There is plenty of room for things to go wrong, and they often do.

The currents and weather conditions of the bay are unpredictable and sometimes violent, making it difficult for the scientists to go collecting. The highly sophisticated machinery used to gather the creatures sometimes malfunctions, causing delays. And sometimes by accident, the biologists fatally wound the animals while removing them from hard-to-reach places in the canyon. Moreover, many deep-sea creatures perish outside the extreme conditions of the deep, where there is tremendous water pressure, icy temperatures, limited food, low oxygen and no sunlight. Changes in pressure, oxygen content and water temperature causes the immediate demise of some species.

"What we are attempting has never been done before, so I guess you can say we are in uncharted waters," said Edward Seidel, a research biologist. "But we've learned so much in recent years that we believe we can pull it off."

The problem was graphically illustrated last month when aquarium biologists went searching for predatory tunicates — a star of the planned exhibit. Extremely rough seas forced them to abandon the expedition after three stom-

oversees a video program that records the excursion, noting the depth and location where animals are encountered. The submersible covers an area about the size of a football field, meticulously searching for the predatory tunicates.

"Oh where, oh where has my tunicate gone?" the crew sang in unison. After nearly an hour of searching, there were no tunicates in sight. But there were several mushroom soft coral, deep-sea cucumbers and sea stars, which were collected for the exhibit.

The beautiful mushroom corals are expected to be big hits of the exhibit. Related to anemones and jellyfish, mushroom corals dwell at the ocean bottom where they extend feathery polyps to feed, trapping small animals and particles from currents. When the polyps are retracted, the polyp looks like the domed head of a pink mushroom.

Gathering these tender creatures is difficult because they are often located on steep canyon walls that are hard to reach and because even the slightest abrasions can kill them. Maneuvering the robot arms can be especially tricky because the pilot has only a two-dimensional view but is operating in a three-dimensional environment.

After nearly two hours of combing the ocean bottom, the researchers hit pay dirt. Perched on a canyon wall and resembling a rubbery blob was a predatory tunicate. They are of particular interest because they capture prey by closing their oral hood, trapping tiny animals inside like a Venus fly trap.

To gather them, the pilot uses the robot's clamshell arm, breaking the substrate, with the animal attached, off the canyon wall. Tunicates that are torn from their substrate, or that have their outer layer torn or scraped, have little chance for survival.

The tunicates and other deep-sea animals are stored in an insulated drawer in the underside of the robot to protect them from being contaminated by surface water, which may be up to 10 degrees Centigrade warmer than the deep-sea.

**B**Y THE END of the day, the biologists had collected four predatory tunicates, five mushroom corals, three deep-sea cucumbers, one point pom anemone and one basket star. But collecting these animals was only half the battle. The creatures must be sustained in a hostile environment above water.

In the past, the biologists could keep the predatory tunicates alive in tanks for no more than six to eight months. But after providing the tunicates with a low-oxygen environment similar to that in which they normally live, the biologists can now keep them alive for more than two years.

The biologists said that they have collected about 70 percent of the animals needed for the exhibit and that they plan to make at least five more trips to the deep sea before the opening in March.

## A Promising Cancer Treatment

By Nicholas Wade  
New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — A novel form of cancer treatment has reached the end of its preliminary trials with promising results at the same time that new research has cast doubt on its original rationale.

The doubts, not yet resolved, may mean that the treatment is less harmless to normal cells than previously had been thought. But it is also possible that the treatment may be applicable to a much wider range of cancers than previously believed.

The agent of treatment is a genetically altered adenovirus, one of the viruses that cause the common cold. Called Onyx-015 by its developer, Onyx Pharmaceuticals of Richmond, California, the virus is injected directly into tumors. Enormous doses can be used without apparent harm to the patient because the virus is designed to kill certain types of tumor cells but not healthy cells.

The treatment is based on recent insights into the basic genetics of tumor cells, and in particular the protective genes that are subverted when a cell becomes cancerous. The virus is designed for specific attacks on the many types of tumor cells that have knocked out a critical gene called p53.

Onyx-015 is being tested in patients with several types of cancer, but the trials with head and neck cancers are furthest along. Onyx Pharmaceuticals reported last month that in 16 out of 26 patients with head and neck cancer, or 62 percent, the tumors had shrunk by more than half, and that in six of those patients the tumors had entirely disappeared.

In all cases, the patients received a standard chemotherapeutic drug as well as the virus, because earlier tests had shown that the two agents in combination were more effective than either alone.

The results are impressive because the patients were at an advanced stage, all of them having failed to benefit from conventional treatments. But because the test is a Phase 2 trial, designed to explore the most effective

dose with only a small number of patients, the results cannot be regarded as conclusive. The company now hopes, with Food and Drug Administration approval, to move to a Phase 3 trial, with enough patients to arrive at a statistically significant outcome.

Dr. James Aronson, a doctor at the Albany Medical Center in New York, is one of those testing the virus. Of the eight patients with head and neck cancer he has treated so far, "three have had really superb results," he said.

"With one guy, the tumor all went away," he said. "In another, there's just an area of thickness but the initial mass has gone. The others had more minor responses. But given the situation these people are in, with far advanced disease, I think it is really remarkable they have done as well as they have."

Meanwhile, on another track, several researchers experimenting with the Onyx-015 virus in the laboratory say they find it behaves rather differently than Onyx had proposed on the basis of its own laboratory tests. The question of exactly how the virus works bears both on its safety and on the range of tumor types it may be able to kill.

Normal cells have an intricate circuitry of interacting genes and proteins that control their proliferation. The circuitry is designed to make sure the cells divide when the body requires them to, but to halt or even kill the cell if it attempts an unauthorized division that might lead to cancer, such as after invasion by a virus or damage to the chromosomes.

Division is tightly controlled by a system centered on a protein known as Rb. The cell-arrest and cell-suicide programs are under the direction of another protein, p53. For a cell to become tumorous, it must subvert the division-control circuitry. Many tumor cells have sabotaged the Rb gene and as a result the p53 gene is also mutated.

Biologists have recently come to recognize that viruses, like incipient tumor cells, must defeat the division-control circuitry and that in the course of evolution, several viruses have targeted the products of the very same genes that are mutated in tumor cells.

Adenovirus has at least three genes

for this purpose. Its E1A gene makes a substance that disrupts the Rb protein, while E1B-55K blocks the division-arrest function of p53, and E1B-19K jams p53's cell-suicide program.

In 1992, Onyx's chief scientific officer at the time, Frank McCormick, realized that the frequent mutation of the p53 gene in tumor cells created a critical difference between them and the healthy cells that could be exploited by a defective form of adenovirus.

An adenovirus lacking the E1B-55K gene that thwarts the division-arrest mechanism of p53 would be unable to replicate in normal cells, because their p53 system would block the division process. But the defective virus could replicate in tumor cells that had disabled their own p53, and go on to attack other tumor cells.

Onyx-015 is an adenovirus that lacks the E1B-55K anti-division-arrest gene. In preclinical studies, the company reported that the defective virus killed laboratory cultures of p53-deficient tumor cells but was harmless to normal cells.

**B**UT in the last few months other researchers have come up with contradictory results that "question the reliability of Onyx's original preclinical studies," said Steven Linke, a molecular biologist at the National Cancer Institute.

"McCormick has an excellent idea and I hope it will work," Mr. Linke said. "But in the new studies, the Onyx virus in some cases is unable to kill tumor cells that lack p53 function. The conclusion would have to be that the killing mechanism is independent of p53, although if the clinical trials are successful, it may not matter too much how the virus works."

Mr. McCormick, who is now director of the cancer center at the University of California at San Francisco, agrees that it is now clear that Onyx-015 can replicate in cancer cells with an intact p53 gene, "which is not consistent with the original hypothesis at all." But he believes a new discovery about the genetics of tumor cells goes far toward explaining the apparently contradictory results.

## CROSSWORD

## ACROSS

1. Prankish, as a dove.
5. Pitcher's boo-boo.
9. Applications.
12. Face-to-face exam.
14. Annual theater award.
16. Legfoot connector.
18. TIM.
19. Airline to Stockholm.
20. Regarding, in legal memos.
21. Ruining a picnic or a Little League game, say.

## DOWN

2. Subsidy.
3. Challenge.
4. Sheriff's star.
6. It follows sunset, in poetry.
7. "Phoney!"
8. Art photo shade.
10. Alpha's opposite.
11. A shepherd shepherds it.
13. EPIC.
15. Honest.
17. — Abebe.
22. Makes pretty.
23. Lipton and Twinkles, e.g.
24. Actor Kiefer.
25. Hearty steak.

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE OF DEC. 24-25

ACROSS  
1. PRANKISH, AS A DOVE  
5. PITCHER'S BOO-BOO  
9. APPLICATIONS  
12. FACE-TO-FACE EXAM  
14. ANNUAL THEATRE AWARD  
16. LEGFOOT CONNECTOR  
18. TIM  
19. AIRLINE TO STOCKHOLM  
20. REGARDING, IN LEGAL MEMOS  
21. RUINING A PICNIC OR A LITTLE LEAGUE GAME, SAY

DOWN  
2. SUBSIDY  
3. CHALLENGE  
4. SHERIFF'S STAR  
6. IT FOLLOWS SUNSET, IN POETRY  
7. "PHONEY!"  
8. ART PHOTO SHADE  
10. ALPHA'S OPPOSITE  
11. A SHEPHERD SHEPHERDS IT  
13. EPIC  
15. HONEST  
17. — ABEBE  
22. MAKES PRETTY  
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24. ACTOR KIEFER  
25. HEARTY STEAK

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11. A SHEPHERD SHEPHERDS IT  
13. EPIC  
15. HONEST  
17. — ABEBE  
22. MAKES PRETTY  
23. LIPTON AND TWINKLES, E.G.  
24. ACTOR KIEFER  
25. HEARTY STEAK

## SOLUTION TO PUZZLE OF DEC. 24-25

ACROSS  
1. PRANKISH, AS A DOVE  
5. PITCHER'S BOO-BOO  
9. APPLICATIONS  
12. FACE-TO-FACE EXAM  
14. ANNUAL THEATRE AWARD  
16. LEGFOOT CONNECTOR  
18. TIM  
19. AIRLINE TO STOCKHOLM  
20. REGARDING, IN LEGAL MEMOS  
21. RUINING A PICNIC OR A LITTLE LEAGUE GAME, SAY

DOWN  
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3. CHALLENGE  
4. SHERIFF'S STAR  
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## Caution Urged in Do-It-Yourself Teeth Whiteners

By Holcomb B. Noble  
New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — A variety of new procedures and products have become available for whitening teeth, many of them sold over the counter in pharmacies or by mail order for use in the home. But a controversy swirls around their safety and effectiveness, particularly the over-the-counter home products.

Manufacturers insist that the products are safe and effective. Whitening solutions with

high concentrations of hydrogen peroxide — 30 percent to 35 percent — have been available in dentists' offices for years for teeth stained by food, coffee, tea, tobacco or other substances. Initially, they required meticulous preparation, and this, coupled with their unpredictability, limited their popularity.

By the early 1990s new products were introduced that were easier to apply, and the process began to be used more often.

In 1991, the Food and Drug Administration classified the whiteners as drugs, affecting bodily structures or

tissues and requiring the agency's approval. The manufacturers then argued that the products were cosmetics, and the drug agency allowed them on the market pending another review. Questions are still being raised, including recent reports of increasing levels of peroxide being added to home products, and the matter remains under investigation.

The generally accepted method of whitening is done in the dentist's office with prepared bleach-and-gel solutions: perhaps one to three times a year after a normal teeth cleaning.

Clifford Whall Jr., director of product evaluation at the American Dental Association, said the in-office bleaches have a long record of safety, though it is too soon for long-term conclusions. Mr. Whall and others say that, as with many medical procedures, that are beneficial if correctly followed and harmful if not, teeth whitening can kill gum tissue or damage the teeth if done improperly. And animal studies suggest that high concentrations of hydrogen peroxide can cause cell damage and may enhance carcinogenesis.









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The sum is about 1.7 times Japan's gross domestic product in 1996.



Theme restaurants, which exploded across the urban skyline three or four years ago with promises of untold profits from a slickly packaged blend of eating, shopping and entertainment, are col-

"The life cycle of theme restaurants has been a lot shorter than anyone expected," said Ron Paul, president of Technomic Inc., a restaurant consulting firm based in Chicago. "Even in New York, where there's a huge tourist population, the novelty's gone."

But the carnage has been enormous in

**See THEME, Page 13**

Until recently, many big businesses operating on the Web, including traditional media companies, were wary of self-publishing, unsure it would yield profits. They also were afraid they couldn't

Currency	30-day	60-day	90-day	Currency	30-day	60-day	90-day
U.S. Starting	1.6796	1.6691	1.6580	Japanese yen	113.76	115.31	114.84
Swiss dollar	1.5550	1.5458	1.5496	Swiss franc	137.19	134.80	136.39
British mark	1.6807	1.6793	1.6793				

Sources: IHS Bank (Amsterdam); KBC Bank (Brussels); Banco Commerciale Italiano (Italy); Banque de France (Paris); Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Canada (Toronto); Reuters (New York) via the Associated Press, Bloomberg and Reuters.

Proposals for a deal among DaimlerChrysler Aerospace, BAE and Aerospatiale of France have faltered amid disagreements over the role of the French state.

Analysts say that while a full merger of GEC and BAE would create a powerful British company and secure considerable cost savings, such a strategy could hurt plans for a European defense merger. DaimlerChrysler Aerospace is thought likely to oppose a GEC-BAE alliance, however, because the German company would then see its stake in an eventual alliance with BAE diluted.

Separately, the Sunday Telegraph reported that GEC was in merger talks with Lockheed Martin of the United States.

Last week, the commission issued a proposal for the harmonization of the standard rate of value-added tax at levels between 15 percent and 25 percent to prevent distortions in the European single market as more and more shoppers bought goods in countries oth-

Germany, in cooperation with the Netherlands, another net contributor, has put forward a proposal that would reduce its net payments next year to about 5.7 billion euros (\$6.68 billion) from a projected 10 billion euros. This would entail a reduction in net receipts for Spain to about 5.7 billion euros from 8 billion euros.

**PARIBAS**  
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**On that day,**  
290 million Europeans will wake up to  
their new single currency: the euro.

**On that day,**  
Paribas, a European bank for the past 126 years,  
will follow this event, live, from its Paris offices.

**On that day,**  
the heads of European companies,  
experts in European affairs and leading figures  
from the worlds of economics, politics and the press,  
will witness, at first hand, the birth of the euro  
as financial markets open around the globe.

**On that day,**  
Paribas will follow  
the birth of the single currency from  
its euro headquarters.

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 **PARIBAS**

**Herald Tribune**  
INTERNATIONAL EDITION  
THE WORLD'S LARGEST NEWSPAPER







## EURO: Prices Will Still Vary

Continued from Page 1

loading prices in euros and plan to start dealing in euros on credit-card purchases as early as next week. Banks are required to let their customers keep their accounts in euros or the local currency, and all interbank transfers will be cleared in euros.

Companies such as DaimlerChrysler AG and Siemens AG are converting their books and prodding suppliers to deal in euros as quickly as possible.

Big retailers such as Carrefour SA in France and Metro AG in Germany are beefing up their computer systems to catch suppliers' pricing discrepancies. Car companies are grudgingly bringing prices into closer alignment from country to country. Computer manufacturers, generating more sales through the borderless Internet, are doing the same.

Still, those who expect Adam Smith's invisible hand to swiftly eliminate price differences are likely to be disappointed. European prices are rooted in big social and institutional differences that companies have learned to respect.

Consumer buying power, for example, is much weaker in Spain and Portugal, where personal incomes are about 25 percent lower than the European average. Aspirin is more expensive in Germany in part because laws aimed at protecting small pharmacies prohibit supermarkets from selling it. Groceries are expensive in Paris; the city has prohibited high-volume hypermarkets within its boundaries. Sales taxes add luxury taxes also vary.

"I think the euro will bring lower prices over all but the price differences will be more or less the ones we have right now," said Stephanie Douchy, a market analyst at Test-Achats, a consumer research association based in Brussels.

With the euro, "there will be greater price transparency," added Harald Muenzberg, a retail industry expert at Gerni Consulting in Bad Homburg, Germany. Still, he said, it will remain "relatively difficult" to figure out prices.

"There are many different prices for many different products," he added. "There are discounts, advertising allowances, rebates. All of that leads to different pricing."

For people such as Mr. Gossens of Bram, which is owned by Gillette Corp., it adds up to big struggles ahead. "Our customers are coming to us and saying, 'We want to pay the lowest prices possible,'" he said. "But what is that?"

The customers Mr. Gossens has in mind are people such as Vincent de Meaux, who coordinates euro planning at Carrefour. Based in Paris, the company owns nearly 200 hypermarkets in Europe and 100 in Asia and Latin America.

Mr. de Meaux says he is looking forward to the euro, he expects retailers to grab more influence over pricing from the hands of suppliers.

## Will the Old Currencies Be Missed?

By John Tagliabue  
New York Times Service

ROME — Andrew Windsor is already nostalgic. "It will be a real shame," said Mr. Windsor, head of retail operations at Thomas Cook Group, the British travel-services company, to see venerable European currencies such as the French franc, the peseta and the lira just disappear.

Travelers, he said, "are using foreign notes and coins as an exciting and integral part of their holidays."

The romance is lost, however, on Geoffrey Lipman, president of the World Travel and Tourism Council. Emptying his wallet during a recent phone conversation, he listed the bank notes he found.

"Pounds sterling, Belgian francs, American dollars," Mr. Lipman said with a groan. "And before I cleaned it with a groan: 'German marks, too.'"

Nostalgic or not, come Friday, travelers to Europe will encounter 11 nations undertaking a historic shift — the replacement of their currencies by the euro. The extent of the change will not be immediately obvious. In most places in the euro zone, prices will still be posted in local currencies. Travelers who need cash will still have to change dollars for marks, francs, lire or other familiar bills. Euro coins and bills will not appear until 2002.

But beginning Friday, the local currencies will all simply be denominations of the euro. Travelers changing money will in fact be trading dollars for euros but pocketing them in the form of marks, francs or the like.

If travelers want to deal in euros right away, they can — by avoiding cash. Thomas Cook will join American Express Co. in issuing euro-denominated traveler's checks. Credit cards and debit cards will also allow payment in euros, depending on whether the store, hotel or airline is prepared to accept them. If they do, and if the customers have dollar-denominated cards, their monthly statements will show transactions in euros, then translate them into dollars.

Over time, the use of a common currency across a wide swath of Europe should produce significant benefits for visitors — though not without certain risks.

In a paper presented this month at a meeting in Washington, the National Business Travel Association, a group of American corporate travel managers, said the euro would ultimately eliminate many expenses of changing money, which it estimated at \$13 to \$14 a transaction. The common currency will also enable travelers to easily spot price differences for travel services.

The danger? That the euro will also shine a floodlight on corporate expense accounts. Without the cloud of receipts in a dozen strange currencies, the boss back home will more easily spot profligacy, the report warned.

In an American Express survey, 58 percent of European business travelers said that once the euro arrived they would broaden their search for less expensive travel services.

In the poll, conducted this year among 200 business travelers, 70 percent said they thought travel companies

such as airlines and car rental agencies would be forced to cut prices.

Of course, corporate travel departments that insist on doing business in euros will have to invest to update their computer software, and they may need to renegotiate contracts for bulk services with airlines and hotel chains. But if overall prices start falling because of the introduction of the euro, travel companies, facing lower profits, may be less willing to negotiate discounts for corporate customers.

The travel industry, fearing that prices will drop, has been in no hurry to embrace the euro, according to Reinhard Schulze-Braucks, a European Union official who helps companies prepare for the new currency.

Still, travelers will find a continent in transition next year, said Hasan Alemdar, euro program manager for Visa International in London.

In some places, such as Germany, there probably will be separate cash registers for marks and euros; in France and Spain, stores will probably accept payment in the local currency or in euros at the same point of sale.

In a third group of countries, many stores may not immediately be ready to trade in euros, so they will require payment in the old local currency and merely inform the customer of the euro amount on a separate receipt.

Experts advise travelers to count their change carefully — but not to count on any windfall.

"It's like switching from Celsius to Fahrenheit," Mr. Schulze-Braucks said. "It doesn't get warmer or colder; you don't get richer or poorer."

## Murdoch Seals Deal With Telecom Italia

MILAN (Combined Dispatches) — Telecom Italia SpA plans to sell 80 percent of its Stream pay-television channel to News Corp., giving Rupert Murdoch a long-sought entry to the Italian television market.

Telecom Italia said Saturday that partners from Italy and other European countries could be included in the eventual deal.

The state telecommunications company, which is being privatized, said Stream was valued on the basis of \$1,350 per subscriber. Stream claims 110,000 subscribers, giving the company a total value of \$148.5 million. That value is the 80 percent stake at \$118.8 million.

Separately, Kirch Group refused to comment Sunday on a report that News Corp. hoped to take a \$1 billion stake in the holding company being formed through the restructuring of the German media company. Focus magazine reported the other two international investors would be Prince Walid bin Talal of Saudi Arabia and the Italian media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi. (AP, Bloomberg)

## AngloGold Completes Minorco Unit Purchase

JOHANNESBURG (AFP) — AngloGold Ltd., the world's largest gold producer, said Sunday that it had paid \$550 million for control of Minorco SA's gold interests, completing a deal it announced in October.

The acquisition will be effective Thursday, the company said. It is expected to decrease the company's earnings per share by 5 percent and increase the net asset value per share by 10 percent.

## Seoul Will Aid Banks

SEOUL (Bloomberg) — South Korea plans to inject 1.78 trillion won (\$1.48 billion) into Kookmin Bank and four other lenders that acquired weaker rivals this year as part of government-led financial reforms.

The Finance and Economy Ministry said Saturday that it would buy a total of 600 billion won of bonds from the five banks, while Korea Deposit Insurance Corp., a state-run agency, would buy 1.18 trillion won of new shares in the lenders Monday.

The government shut down five ailing banks in June and asked Kookmin Bank, Housing & Commercial Bank, Shinhan Bank, Koram Bank and Hana Bank to acquire assets and liabilities of the five shut lenders, which accounted for 7.3 percent of Korean bank loans.

## Iran Warns OPEC

DUBAI (Reuters) — Iran said Sunday that it would back any new moves to rescue the besieged oil market but warned that some fellow OPEC pro-

ducers were using Tehran's controversial demands to mask other problems in the fractious cartel.

Iran's representative to the oil cartel, Hossein Kazempour Ardabili, said Tehran would support holding an emergency meeting of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries to lift oil prices from that are now at 12-year lows.

But Mr. Ardabili, a key adviser to the Iranian oil minister, said Tehran would not back down from its demands to calculate any of its own cuts from a higher baseline. He said his country was being used as a scapegoat by other OPEC members to cover up a bitter battle for market share at a time of high oil supplies and eroding demand because of the Asian financial crisis.

## For the Record

DaimlerChrysler AG expects 1998 sales to rise 13 percent and profit to exceed last year's figures of the now-combined Daimler-Benz AG and Chrysler Corp. (AFP)

Mitsui Trust & Banking Co. plans to sell half of its share holdings, now valued at some 1.6 trillion yen (\$13.77 billion) in book value, in four years to improve its financial health, the Nihon Keizai Shimbun reported Sunday. The bank may also consider abandoning all stakes in big companies to trim its exposure to volatile stock prices. (AFP)

## Seoul Warns LG Over Resistance

Agence France-Presse

SEOUL — The South Korean presidential office warned Sunday that banks would impose sanctions against LG Group for denouncing a yearlong government battle to restructure the country's crisis-hit industrial sector.

"Financial sanctions are inevitable if LG remains opposed to the merger," Park Ji Won, a presidential spokesman, said.

The warning followed an announcement that LG Semicon Ltd. would sue Arthur D. Little & Co. for "damages and libel" over its evaluation of LG's management. The American consultancy has judged Hyundai Electronics Ind. as better positioned for managing a giant semiconductor unit to be created in a merger with LG Semicon.

Koo Bon Joon, president of LG Semicon, accused the consultancy of using "distorted information provided by one side." He said LG Semicon would take action against the company, probably in January.

LG's challenge fueled resentment among government officials, who have touted the semiconductor merger as the centerpiece of South Korea's corporate restructuring.

## THEME: Trendy Restaurant Chains Are Forced Onto Crash Diet

Continued from Page 11

an industry in which the number of theme-restaurant chains jumped from six to more than 30 in six years, annual revenue rose to more than \$2 billion from an estimated \$300 million.

Diyel, a theme chain backed by the film director Steven Spielberg and based on classic tropic submarine spaces and submarine sandwiches, has not gone beyond Los Angeles and Las Vegas. Billboard Live, featuring live music from Billboard magazine charts, died in Los Angeles, Vegas, which blended food and high-kicking chorus girls, announced its debut in September 1996 and promptly disappeared.

Three never got beyond the hype stage: RKO Pictures, which was to combine food and old movies; Marvel Mania, which was based on Marvel comic book heroes; and Chefs of the World, a theme chain that would celebrate famous chefs.

"The industry's going to contract dramatically and somewhat violently, either through bankruptcy or restaurant closings," said James Berk, president and chief executive of Hard Rock Cafe International, which operates 98 restaurants as well as hotels, concert venues and a record company.

The present situation is a far cry from the mid-1990s.

Robert Earl, the impresario who helped Hard Rock expand well beyond its London origins, started Planet Hollywood in 1992 with the actors Bruce Willis, Demi Moore and Arnold Schwarzenegger, adding 10 to 20 restaurants a year before going public in 1996.

At about that time, restaurants suddenly saw theme restaurants as a bonanza. Food and beverage operations generated the 10 percent profit typical of any successful restaurant, but the high-priced merchandise — T-shirts, sweatshirts, leather jackets — accounted for as much as 45 percent of the total revenue and as much as 70 percent of profit margins.

In Manhattan, eager developers created what was practically a theme-restaurant district in midtown. The Jekyll & Hyde Club, the Motown Cafe and the Harley Davidson Cafe followed Hard Rock and Planet Hollywood; then Comedy Nation, the Fashion Cafe and Television City opened nearby.

There was a time when investors and operators thought that theme restaurants were a sure-fire formula for making lots of money, said Michael Mueller, a restaurant analyst with NationsBank Montgomery Securities in San Francisco. "That's since been disproven by the drop in same-store sales at chains like Planet Hollywood."

In the first nine months of 1998, Planet Hollywood lost \$15.7 million, compared with a profit of \$52.1 million during the corresponding period last year. Sales dropped 20 percent in the third quarter this year at restaurants open more than 18 months, containing a two-year trend. Shares of Planet Hollywood have plunged from more than \$32 in 1996 to \$2.625 last week.

Rainforest Cafe expects sales to drop as much as 18 percent this year at the six restaurants that have been open more than 18 months.

At Hard Rock, sales were down 10.1 percent in the first nine months of this year, though overall revenue and operating profit rose more than 2 percent. Much of the decline came from a drop in sales of Hard Rock T-shirts and caps, Mr. Berk said, not because tourists and local residents were ignoring the restaurants.

"People came to see the stars; there weren't any," said Robert Puterman, a retail real-estate broker based in New York who has been to many theme restaurants. "They came to eat the food, and it was terrible. What do you need more than one T-shirt for? The thrill is gone."

At Planet Hollywood, Mr. Earl is betting that the public has not lost its taste for theme restaurants. In January, the

company is scheduled to unveil a revitalization program called Planet 2000, which is linked to the opening of the Planet Hollywood Hotel in Times Square. The company has laid off more than 70 people and has struggled with its lenders. Mr. Earl said the company would introduce new menus, prices, logos and designs for the restaurants and additional movie stars.

"I think it's fixable," he said. "After the narrower concepts close, people will come back to Hard Rock and Planet Hollywood. There is some carnage, and I think there's more coming. You'll end up with the survival of the stronger ones."

### ADVERTISEMENT

INGERSOLL-RAND COMPANY  
(CDRs)

Referring to the advertisement of 23 September 1997 the undersigned announces that as from 30 December 1998 bonus dividend no. 99 of CDRs Ingersoll-Rand Company will be payable in cash with Nlg. 4,026 per CDR repr. 5 shares at Kas-Associatie N.V., Spuistraat 172, Amsterdam.

AMSTERDAM DEPOSITARY COMPANY N.V.  
Amsterdam, 22 December, 1998

PANDA SICAV  
Société d'Investissement à  
Capital Variable  
R.C. Luxembourg B 58.116

### NOTICE OF MEETING

Notice is hereby given that the Annual General Meeting of PANDA SICAV will be held at the Registered Office in Luxembourg, 10A, Boulevard Royal, on:

Monday 18th January, 1999 at 11 a.m.,

for the purpose of considering the following Agenda:

1. Management Report of the Directors for the year ended 30th September, 1998.
2. Report of the Auditor for the year ended 30th September, 1998.
3. Approval of the Annual Accounts as at 30th September, 1998 and appropriation of the earnings.
4. Discharge to the Directors in respect of the execution of their mandate to 30th September, 1998.
5. Composition of the Board of Directors.
6. Election of the Auditor for a new term of one year.
7. Miscellaneous.

The present notice and a form of proxy are sent to all registered shareholders on record at 6th January, 1999.

In order to attend the meeting, the owners of bearer shares are required to deposit their shares before January 12th, 1999 at the Registered Office.

The registered shareholders have to inform by mail (letter or proxy form) the Board of Directors of their intention to attend the meeting before January 12th, 1999.

By order of the Board of Directors

## IN THIS WEEK'S DOUBLE ISSUE

• Business Week's  
Investment  
Outlook

• Why Shell  
needs to step  
on the gas

• Baan Co. — the  
highflyer who  
fell to earth



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Figures as of close  
of trading Thursday, December 24

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## SPORTS

# Tampa Bay Wins Big To Keep Hopes Alive

## Bucs Shuts Out Bengals in Must-Win Game

**The Associated Press**  
CINCINNATI — The Tampa Bay Buccaneers overcame the cold and the Cincinnati Bengals on Sunday as the team gained its biggest and potentially most important road victory ever.

Mike Alstott, the Buccaneer fullback, had two of his three touchdowns runs during a 28-point first half that set up a 35-0 victory over the Bengals — the

hand injury for the third time in four games when Paul Justin hurt his right hand late in the second quarter. Eric Kresser, playing in only his second NFL game, finished and threw a pair of interceptions.

Ronde Barber's interception at the Buccaneers' one-yard line ended Cincinnati's final scoring threat early in the fourth quarter. Kresser finished seven-of-17 for 102 yards.

The smallest home crowd of the season watched Cincinnati finish 3-13 for the fourth time in the 1990s. The approximately 40,000 fans booed each Bengal mishap and unfurled banners calling for Mike Brown to step down as general manager.

Falcons 36, Dolphins 16 While Dan Reeves, the Atlanta coach, watched from home, missing his second straight game after heart bypass surgery, the Falcons finished out the best regular season in team history with a rout of the visiting Miami Dolphins.

Atlanta (14-2), had already clinched the National Football Conference West, a first-round bye and No. 2 seed in the conference behind Minnesota. But Reeves, in a midweek telephone call, told his players that it was important to go into the playoffs on a roll.

They did. The Falcons stunned the turnover-plagued Dolphins (10-6) by jumping to a 21-0 lead just eight minutes into the game and enter the postseason with a nine-game winning streak.

Miami, coming off a Monday night victory over Denver, needed another victory to ensure a home game in the first round of the playoffs. But the Dolphins lost four fumbles, and Dan Marino, their quarterback, was intercepted twice.

The Dolphins still gained a home playoff game when New England lost to the New York Jets. Miami will play host to Buffalo next weekend.

Jamal Anderson carried 18 times for 103 yards, including a 36-yard touchdown. He set an NFL record for most rushing attempts in a season, finishing with 410 to eclipse by three the mark set by James Wilder of Tampa Bay in 1984.

Marino threw for 320 yards — his third straight 300-yard game — but it didn't matter. The Dolphins gave up a season high for points, but finished the season allowed only 265 points, the best in the NFL.

Atlanta, which led 24-6 at halftime, blew it open with two more quick scores in the third period, scoring both times on the very next play after Miami fumbles.



Mike Alstott of Tampa scoring over Billy Granville, left, Reinard Wilson (55) and Takeo Spikes (51) of Cincinnati.

# Testaverde Lifts Jets Over Patriots

## New York Finishes at 12-4, Earning a Bye in First Week of Playoffs

**The Associated Press**  
EAST RUTHERFORD, New Jersey — The last time the New York Jets finished a season this hot, they won their only Super Bowl.

With a history sprinkled with few successes and so many disappointments, finding highlights for the Jets never was an easy chore. That is, until this season, which they finished off in style Sunday, routing the New England Patriots, 31-10, behind Vinny Testaverde's four touchdown passes.

The Jets, 1-15 just two years ago before Bill Parcells took over as coach, set a franchise record with their 12th victory. It was their sixth straight triumph, and their 12-4 record earned the team a playoff bye this weekend.

It has been 30 years, or back when Joe Namath was in the midst of his Hall of Fame career, since the Jets have been so strong.

Testaverde, in what he has called "a magical season," set a club record with 29 touchdown passes. His 12th pro season has been his best by far, and probably much better than anyone imagined when he signed in June as a free agent to back up Glenn Foley.

The AFC's leading passer, Testaverde had touchdown passes of 4 yards

to Kyle Brady, 8 yards to Curtis Martin, 17 to Dedric Ward and 24 to Keyshawn Johnson. He completed 17 of 27.

Martin, another key free-agent addition this year, rushed 29 times for 102 yards.

And for all their firepower — 416 points this season — the Jets also allowed the second-fewest points in the league, 266, just one more than Miami.

The Patriots (9-7) already had made the playoffs despite a rash of injuries to key players. Among the missing Sunday were quarterback Drew Bledsoe, wide receiver Terry Glenn and inside linebacker Ted Johnson. Without them — and with the Jets on such a roll — the Patriots had little chance.

Ravens 19, Lions 10 If the Baltimore Ravens had played this well all season, maybe Ted Marchibroda would have felt better about his team's victory over the visiting Detroit Lions.

Instead, he walked off the field with the understanding that the game might have well marked the end of his career as an NFL head coach.

Priest Holmes scored a touchdown and became the Ravens' first 1,000-yard rusher as Baltimore (6-10) closed a disappointing season by beating the error-prone Lions (5-11).

The game marked the end of Marchibroda's three-year contract.

Although he wore a broad smile as he shook hands with the Detroit coach, Bobby Ross, after the game, it is a virtual certainty that Marchibroda will not return next season.

Marchibroda, 67, failed to produce a winning season with the Ravens and is 16-31-1 over that span. His dismissal could come as soon as Monday.

The Ravens led, 16-0, in the second quarter, then let the lead dwindle to 16-10 before Matt Stover kicked a 30-yard field goal with 5:03 remaining to clinch the victory.

Holmes gained 132 yards on 20 carries and finished with 1,008 yards for the season. Jim Harbaugh shrugged off an early elbow injury to finish 17-for-26 for 141 yards and a touchdown.

Chiefs 31, Raiders 24 On Saturday, the Chiefs extended their record of dominance over Oakland to 17 victories in the last 19 games between the two teams.

Derrick Thomas returned a fumble 44 yards for a score, and Tony Gonzalez caught a 20-yard touchdown pass to break a fourth-quarter tie for the visiting Chiefs. "Unfortunately, we can't use this as a springboard, because we're not in the playoffs," Thomas said.

# Vikings Win To Post 15-1 Season Mark

## Minnesota Sets 3 Records In 26-16 Pasting of Oilers

By Thomas George  
New York Times Service

NASHVILLE, Tennessee — It looked like a team that had clinched everything — the playoffs, home-field advantage, team and individual honors — a team that had everything going for it on the road against a team whose season blew up long ago. It looked like the Minnesota Vikings, down by 13-8 at halftime against the Tennessee Oilers, needed a collective jolt, something to spark the day, something to make this matchup more intense. More urgent.

The Vikings found it in the third quarter. That is their quarter.

The Vikings took the opening kickoff in the third quarter and dominated the Oilers. They drove 76 yards in nine plays, and Randall Cunningham finished the series by tossing a 5-yard scoring pass to Randy Moss. Cunningham-to-Moss earned the two-point conversion, too, and the Vikings were set, as they went on to a 26-16 victory Sunday at Vanderbilt University.

Minnesota outscored Tennessee by 15-3 in the third quarter, which helped the Vikings set the record for the most points in a season in National Football League history (556). Those points also gave Minnesota a 139-58 scoring advantage in third-quarter play this season. Minnesota earned a 15-1 regular season record, to join the 1984 San Francisco 49ers and the 1985 Chicago Bears as the only teams to finish with that record; both of those teams went on to win the Super Bowl.

"We can score on special teams, on defense and on offense," said Dennis Green, the head coach. "The scoring record we earned today is a team record. We made enough plays in the second half, and Randall Cunningham played a solid game. The offense came around, but we always have a fast-starting defense. We have a team that plays together. That makes me most proud."

Cunningham was 23 of 35 for 235 passing yards with two touchdowns and one interception.

It was the eighth victory in a row for the Vikings, who are set for the National Football Conference playoffs, with a bye this weekend. The NFC road to the Super Bowl must now go through Minnesota.

"I really believe that our talent level is not that much different from that team," said Samari Rolle, the rookie cornerback for Tennessee, which has been stuck at 8-8 for three consecutive seasons. "The difference may be in part talent, but it is just as much in confidence. That is a very confident group. You can tell by the way they talk before they play. They just believe."

The Vikings have already earned history. In this game alone, they set three NFL records.

• Their 556 points this season broke the league record of 541 set by the Washington Redskins in 1983.

• Gary Anderson scored 10 points to give the kicker 164 for the season. He surpassed Mark Moseley of Washington (161 in 1983) as the highest scoring kicker for a single season. Anderson also had a perfect season in field goals (35 of 35) and in extra points (59 of 59). He stretched his NFL record of consecutive field goals to 40 over two seasons.

• Moss and Cris Carter, the Vikings receivers who both scored touchdown catches, set a record for most touchdowns by a receiving duo (28 — Moss with 17 and Carter with 11).

"We played like we were capable of playing," Carter said, "and we knew it was going to be a tough week with Christmas and traveling and all of those things. I think we handled it really well. The 15-1 record does not matter now. We have home field in the playoffs, and we are 0-0 now. But we are excited about what we can do."

Predators 3, Capitals 1 In Nashville, rookie goaltender Tomas Vokoun earned his second straight victory against a 1998 Stanley Cup finalist as the expansion Predators beat Washington.

Vokoun, who had made 50 saves in the Predators' 5-3 victory over Detroit on Wednesday, needed to stop just 26 of 27 shots against the struggling Capitals. Washington has won just three of its last 12 games. James Black's goal with 7:07 left in the game spoiled the shutout bid by Vokoun, a 22-year-old from the Czech Republic.

Stars 4, Avalanche 2 Brett Hull scored two power-play goals, giving him seven goals in seven games, as Dallas extended its unbeaten streak to 11 with a victory over visiting Colorado.

Hull, with 13 points in his last 11 games, added an assist, and Mike Modano had two assists, helping Dallas reach the 300-assist plateau.

Sharks 2, Canucks 0 In San Jose, Backup goaltender Steve Shields recorded his first NHL shutout, and Patrick Marleau and Mike Ricci each scored a goal as the Sharks beat Vancouver.

Shields stopped 25 Vancouver shots.

Walt Pylant/AF

The Vikings' Gary Anderson, who went 35 for 35 on field goals this year, hitting a 39-yarder Sunday.

# Missouri Deals West Virginia Its 8th Straight Bowl Defeat

**The Associated Press**  
TUCSON, Arizona — West Virginia couldn't quite keep up with the Joneses in the Insight.com Bowl.

Corby Jones rushed for three touchdowns and Julian Jones intercepted a pass and blocked a punt for a safety as No. 23 Missouri (8-4) held on to beat the Mountaineers, 34-31, Saturday night.

"There's not much you can say," said Corby Jones, whose father Curtis, a

Missouri assistant coach, died of a heart attack in July. "We just did this for my dad and for the team."

Julian Jones, who also had 10 unassisted tackles and a 39-yard free kick return that helped set up a score, was named the game's outstanding player.

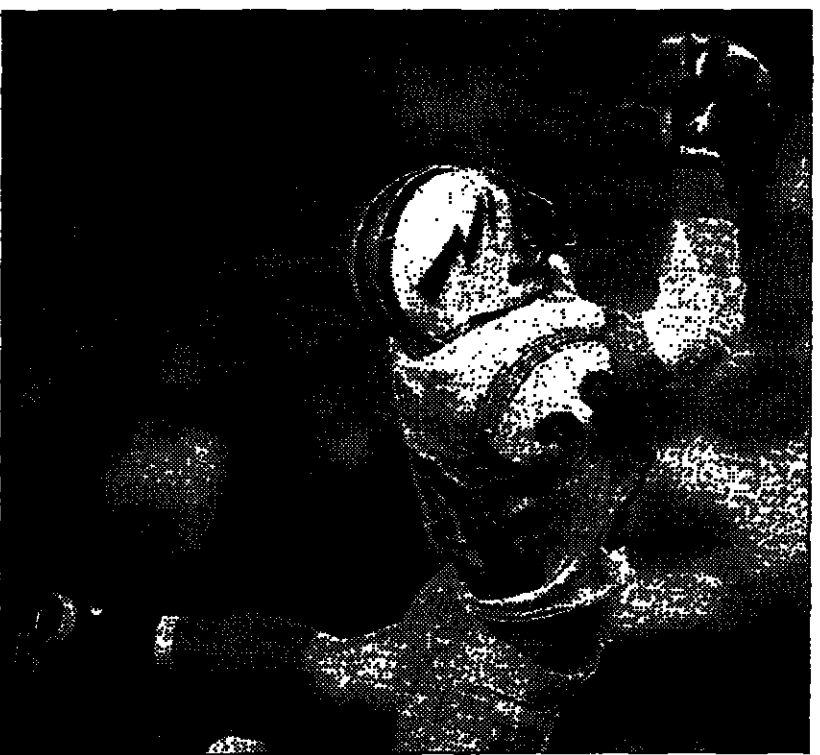
The sophomore started at cornerback because the senior Wade Perkins was suspended for the game for unspecified team rule violations.

West Virginia (8-4) lost its eighth consecutive bowl game, tying South Carolina's NCAA Division I record.

South Carolina's slide ended with a victory over West Virginia in the 1995 "Argus Bowl."

"I was sad for Wade because I knew he would have been his last game," Julian Jones said. "I tried to come in and do the things that he would have done for our team, because he is a big-time player."

Marc Bulger of West Virginia completed 34 of 51 passes, both Insight.com



Air Force's Scott McKay hauling in a scoring pass against Washington.

Bowl records, for a school-record 429 yards and four second-half touchdowns to bring the Mountaineers back from a 21-point deficit. Bulger's four touchdowns passed tied an Insight.com Bowl record, and his leading receiver, Sean Foreman, caught an Insight.com record 11 passes for 189 yards.

Bulger's nine-yard scoring pass to Amos Zereoue cut Missouri's lead to 31-24 with 10:27 to play, and his one-yard touchdown toss to David Saunders made it 34-31 with 2:11 to play. But Dwayne Blakley of Missouri recovered the onside-kick attempt, and the Tigers ran out the clock.

Corby Jones and Devin West, in their final collegiate game, led a 76-yard, 14-

play fourth-quarter drive that consumed 6:43 before stalling at the West Virginia 1. Brian Long's 18-yard field goal with 3:44 to go put the Tigers up 34-24.

West, the No. 5 rusher in Division I-A, finished with 125 yards in 31 attempts. Zereoue, the nation's No. 6 rusher, managed just 32 yards in 22 carries.

HERITAGE BOWL Ryan Lewis ran 57 yards and 13 yards for third-quarter touchdowns, and Southern University went on to beat Bethune-Cookman, 28-2, Saturday in its fourth straight Heritage Bowl appearance in the Georgia Dome.

Steve Woolford ran for 119 yards on 27 carries for Southern. The Jaguars (9-3), the Southwestern Athletic Conference representatives, won for the fourth time in five Heritage Bowls.

OHIO BOWL Air Force, ranked No. 16, routed Washington, 45-25, in the Ohio Bowl in Honolulu on Christmas Day. Snubbed in the national championship selection process despite an 11-1 record, Air Force placed an exclamation point on its season with the dominating victory over the Huskies.

The game was the bottom half of a first-ever bowl-game doubleheader.

ALOHIA BOWL In the first half of the doubleheader in Honolulu, Mike Moschetti threw for four touchdowns to lead Colorado to a 51-43 victory over Oregon. Moschetti threw TD passes of 72 yards to Darrin Chiverrini, 58 yards to Marcus Stiggers, 20 yards to Daniel Graham and 5 yards to Jaron Green.

BLUE GRAY ALL-STAR CLASSIC In Montgomery, Alabama, Jason Bray had two interceptions and a key fumble recovery and Karsen Bailey, his teammate at Auburn, scored the winning touchdown in the Gray squad's 31-24 victory Friday.

# Louisville Upsets Kentucky Once Again

**The Associated Press**  
LOUISVILLE, Kentucky — A lot of people were surprised by Louisville's upset of No. 3 Kentucky. None of them played for Louisville.

"There was no doubt in my mind we could beat them," said Tony Williams, a forward, after the Cardinals

beat the Wildcats, 83-74, on Saturday.

"We all knew we could do this,"

Marques Maybin scored 19 points, including seven straight late in the second half, as Louisville beat its

slur in-state rival for the second straight season.

Williams and Cameron Murray each added 14 points as Louisville (5-

2), banned this year from postseason play by the NCAA, won its third consecutive game.

"This was a big win for our kids because everybody thought it was a fluke last year — and it probably was," said Denny Crum, the Louisville coach, referring to the 79-76 victory at Kentucky's Rupp Arena.

Kentucky (10-3), which was coming off a 71-60 loss to second-ranked Duke, has lost two straight for the first time since 1994.

The Cardinals forced Kentucky into 18 turnovers and held the Wildcats to 46 percent shooting from the field, including only 2-of-15 from 3-point range.

Scott Padgett led Kentucky with 13 points, and Michael Bradley had 12

# Magic Handshake Helps Canadiens Grab a Victory

**The Associated Press**  
TORONTO — As Maurice (The Rocket) Richard made his exit on a red carpet from center ice after the ceremonial face-off prior to the last Montreal Canadiens-Toronto Maple Leafs game in Maple Leaf Gardens, Stephane Quintal glided over and shook his hand.

With 4:58 remaining in the game, Quintal slid a shot that bounced off

the stick of Curtis Joseph, the Toronto goalie, continued through his legs, and gave the Canadiens a 2-1 victory Saturday.

"I shook his hand and maybe that's why I scored," Quintal said of his first goal this season.

The victory saved the Canadiens the dubious distinction of tying the club record, shared by the 1925-26 and 1935-36 teams, for the longest winless streak of 12 games.

Earlier in the day, the Canadiens hired former Montreal star and New Jersey Devils coach Jacques Lemaire to assist general manager Rejean Houle in trying to improve the club's sagging fortunes.

Sabres 2, Devils 0 Dominik Hasek, the Buffalo goalie, recorded his fourth shutout in December, and Miralash Satan scored both goals as the Sabres won in New Jersey. Hasek, who leads the NHL with seven shutouts, has not allowed a goal in 163 minutes, 35 seconds.

Islanders 4, Bruins 2 Mike Waz and Claude Lapointe scored in the third period as the New York Islanders beat visiting Boston.

Rangers 6, Hurricanes 3 Petr Nedved had two goals and two assists, and the New York Rangers scored six times in the second period for a victory in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Adam Graves also scored two goals, and Jeff Boukboom, Sean Proeger and Niklas Sundstrom had two assists apiece for New York.

Panthers 3, Lightning 1 In Tampa, Florida, Sean Burke stopped 23 shots, and Bill Lindsay had two goals as Florida handed the Lightning their ninth

straight home loss.

Penguins 2, Senators 1 In Pittsburgh, Jaromir Jagr scored 1:18 into overtime to beat Ottawa.

Peter Skudra, Pittsburgh's backup goalie, played brilliantly — particularly in the third period, when his team was outshot 13-1 — to give the Penguins a chance to win.

Flyers 3, Blackhawks 2 Eric Lindros and Eric Desjardins scored in the first four minutes as Philadelphia won in Chicago to extend its unbeaten streak to seven games. Doug Gilmour scored both Chicago goals — and recorded his 1,200th NHL career point.

Blues 4, Red Wings 3 In St. Louis, Scott Pellerin scored twice as the Blues extended Detroit's losing streak to a season-high five games.

The five-game losing streak is the longest for the two-time defending Stanley Cup champions since the 1990-91 season.

Predators 3, Capitals 1 In Nashville, rookie goaltender Tomas Vokoun earned his second straight victory against a 1998 Stanley Cup finalist as the expansion Predators beat Washington.

Vokoun, who had made 50 saves in the Predators' 5-3 victory over Detroit on Wednesday, needed to stop just 26 of 27 shots against the struggling Capitals. Washington has won just three of its last 12 games. James Black's goal with 7:07 left in the game spoiled the shutout bid by Vokoun, a 22-year-old from the Czech Republic.

Stars 4, Avalanche 2 Brett Hull scored two power-play goals, giving him seven goals in seven games, as Dallas extended its unbeaten streak to 11 with a victory over visiting Colorado.

Hull, with 13 points in his last 11 games, added an assist, and Mike Modano had two assists, helping Dallas reach the 300-assist plateau.

Sharks 2, Canucks 0 In San Jose, Backup goaltender Steve Shields recorded his first NHL shutout, and Patrick Marleau and Mike Ricci each scored a goal as the Sharks beat Vancouver.

Shields stopped 25 Vancouver shots.

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**WORLD ROUNDUP**

**Life Ban Is Urged For 2 Australians**

**CRICKET** Khalid Mahmood, the chairman of the Pakistan Cricket Board, said that Pakistan, India and Sri Lanka would lobby the International Cricket Council to ban Shane Warne and Mark Waugh, two Australian stars, for life.

The Australian pair apologized this month for providing pitch and weather information to an Indian bookmaker while on tour of Sri Lanka in 1994. They were fined by the Australian Cricket Board in February 1995, an action kept secret until early this month. The scandal is on the agenda of the cricket council's meeting Jan. 10-11 in Christchurch, New Zealand.

The subcontinent was unanimous that the guilty players should be banned for life when we met at New Delhi 10 days ago," Mahmood said Saturday. (Reuters)

(Test Cricket — Page 16)

**NFL Opens Video Path For Black Coaches**

**FOOTBALL** The National Football League said it would try to promote the hiring of black coaches by videotaping interviews of selected assistant coaches and making the tapes available to its teams.

It said the interviews would be done by an independent consulting agency in the next few weeks and would include about 20 to 30 candidates, most of them black.

There are only three black head coaches in the league. One, Ray Rhodes, is expected to be fired by Philadelphia after the season. The others are Dennis Green of Minnesota and Tony Dungy of Tampa Bay. (NYT, AP)

**Former World Champion John Pulman Dies at 75**

**SNOKER** John Pulman, the former world snooker champion has died at age 75. Pulman, who was world professional champion from 1957 to 1968, had been hospitalized after breaking his hip in a fall. (AFP)

**Humbly to the NBA**

**BASKETBALL** Michael Wilbon, the Washington Post columnist, offered a seasonal reaction to the National Basketball lockout.

"You know the first thought that came to mind when I heard news of this Jan. 7 deadline, the so-called 'drop dead' date, for the NBA and its players to negotiate a deal? That both sides should, figuratively speaking of course, drop dead."

"I know that's not exactly an expression of Christmas spirit. But it does come in the spirit of the NBA and its players, who subscribe to their own twisted motto: It is better to receive than to give." (WP)

**The Year in Sports, 1998: Too Many Ugly Moments**

**Drugs, Fan Violence and Strikes Dim Bursts of Athletic Brilliance**

By Christopher Clarey  
International Herald Tribune

SEVILLE, Spain — "So let me get this straight, you actually get paid to go to games?"

I have been hearing this question or a version of it since I became a sportswriter, and even if isn't altogether true — I actually get paid to write at warp speed after going to games — I always have liked the tone of it: sports as escapism; an Olympic-ringed circus to lighten our daily bread.

But the tone of the question and the tone of my workplace have been diverging for quite some time, and although, dear reader, that is hardly your problem, there was usually something to take all our minds off the games in 1998.

It started in January with Australian customs officials searching through the luggage of the Chinese swimmer Yuan Yunn as she arrived for the world swimming championships and finding vials of human-growth hormone, a banned substance.

It continued in February when a Canadian named Ross Rebagliati received a lot more attention for testing positive for marijuana than for winning the first snowboarding gold medal in Olympic history.

It accelerated in July with the world's greatest bicycle race degenerating into a police chase in the wake of more drug searches, seizures, arrests and — for a change — admissions, although Richard Virenque's was not among them.

It extended into December with a full-blown Olympic bribery scandal and a National Basketball Association labor dispute that appeared it might be intractable enough to force cancellation of the season for the first time in history.

Perhaps that is a harbinger of the post-modern sports world: one in which there are no games.

But even if the NBA players' lawyers and the league's lawyers come to agreement, I have the lingering suspicion that the whole enterprise of sport, title sponsors and exclusive-rights holders is chugging steadily toward a cliff.

Attribute it to what you will: the inevitable price of decadence; the over-emphasis on manufactured and well-marketed heroes instead of real heroes, or human nature. But however one explains it, the bright moments for me in 1998 — John Elway and his Denver Broncos finally winning the Super Bowl; the cross-country skier Bjorn Dæhlie sprawling across the finish line to win his eighth Olympic gold medal; Alex Correia's and Carlos Moya's friendly post-final embrace at the French Open; Zinedine Zidane's near-post headers in the World Cup final; Marion Jones sprinting down a track with imperfect form and nobody in front of her — are fighting a losing battle for space in my memory bank with the uglier moments.

A few postcards, some sweet and some bittersweet, from the world of sports in 1998:

Jan. 22, Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy: In the streets, the dowagers in their furs are sharing space with the hoi polloi in their parkas. But inside a three-star hotel chosen expressly for its inconspicuousness, Alberto Tomba is running his hands nervously, compulsively across his face and through his thick curly hair as he talks about the upcoming Winter Olympics. Tomba looks trim; he looks tan, but he looks anything but tranquil as he describes the cumulative psychological effects of an ongoing tax investigation and the ongoing examination of his private life by the fourth estate. This will be the final season for the manchild whose charisma made skiing appealing to the masses.

Feb. 13, Nagano, Japan: Sportswriters train themselves to control their emotions. Cheering in the press box is not allowed, not even for the team you used to live and cry for as a child, and I sometimes have to remind myself that it is completely acceptable to applaud at the theater. But on the morning of the much-delayed men's Olympic downhill race, my training fails me completely as I watch Hermann Maier of Austria attack a narrow turn with typical insouciance and then, most unexpectedly and spectacularly, hurdle off a lip and take flight. As the world's dominant skier heads toward the ozone layer, skis and poles akimbo, I am shouting with a mixture of surprise and dread, and I don't stop shouting until Maier has crashed and skidded through two security fences. Three days later, Maier would recover his balance and I my composure. He would win the first of two Olympic gold medals by dominating the Super-G.

April 6, Bratislava, Slovak Republic: How many tennis fans, or even tennis fanatics, would pay to watch Dominik Hrbaty play Magnus Gustafsson? Precious few, but it was one of my favorite matches of the year. Hrbaty is a Slovak; Gustafsson is a Swede. And with this Davis Cup first-round match tied at 2-2, both men need a victory to put their team in the quarterfinals. The 31-year-old Gustafsson has spent the week in Bratislava in bed with a virus. The day before this match he was interviewing his Swedish teammates for television.

But because of an injury to Mikael Tillstrom, the convalescent Gustafsson is on the other end of the camera today. After he wins in four nifty sets, in spite of a chronic cough and a lot of crowd support for Hrbaty, his fellow Swedes toss him into the air and rub his balding head. There is not an agent or spin doctor in sight, and eight months later, the Swedes would be rubbing Gustafsson's head again as he helped them win their third Davis Cup title in five years.

May 6, Rome: I am sitting near the grandstand court at the Foro Italico, the one ringed with neoclassical nudes commissioned during the reign of Benito Mussolini. And when Venus Williams has finished working over her smaller, infinitely more massaging Spanish opponent, she saunters over to the stands and begins signing autographs. An elderly, excited Italian man leans over the railing and shouts like an auctioneer: "Grande, Grande, Grande. You will be big, big, big!" The 6-foot-1½ (1.85-meter) Williams looks up at the spectator with amusement in her eyes and begins to laugh loudly, the braces on her teeth flashing in the afternoon sun.

June 11, Marseille: The man I am talking to in the hardscrabble housing project of La Castellane looks a lot like Zinedine Zidane. That is because he is Zidane's older brother, Farid, who, unlike Zinedine, still lives here. Farid is explaining that it is not easy for those of North African descent to find their place in contemporary France. His brother has managed quite nicely by controlling a soccer ball better than almost anyone on the planet, and as we walk around the concrete concourse where Zidane acquired some of his skills as a youngster, a rainbow coalition of teenagers gathers to answer queries on the eve of France's World Cup opener against South Africa. "Here it's not easy to succeed," one of the teenagers observes. "But with Zid-



Bjarne Riis of Denmark discussing a riders' protest over drug testing with officials of the Tour de France.

ane, at least people in La Castellane know that it is possible."

July 12, Paris: Zidane has just redefined French sporting success at the expense of Ronaldo and the And after writing into the night, I exit the elliptical Stade de France, the newest national monument in a country overflowing with them. Outside, the crowd is still dense and we are soon packed tightly against each other as we inch toward the entrance to the metro.

"On est les champions; On est les champions; On est les champions!"

Unlike the English or the Brazilians, the French don't have a trope of soccer songs, but they have improvised. On the Avenue des Champs-Elysees, they gather and sing by the tens of thousands as the faces of Zidane and other French players are projected onto the carved stone of the Arc de Triomphe.

It has been a schizophrenic World Cup, the genuine and wholesome enthusiasm in the stands sometimes overshadowed by the rioting in the streets of Marseille and Lens.

I had been in both those cities during the violence, and as I approach the Champs-Elysees on my bicycle in the early hours of July 13 to rejoin the revelry, I am content that my final image of the globe's most popular sporting event will be of joy, of release.

But when I arrive at the Arc de Triomphe, red lights are flashing; ambulances, police cars, commotion. A panicked driver has accelerated through a crowd of pedestrians, injuring many. The party in this part of town won't be quite the same party again; and this flawed final World Cup evening is, unfortunately, in perfect harmony with a flawed World Cup.

Aug. 6, Moscow: The Tour de France turned out to be an ad hoc seminar on morality and the hazards of EPO, an artificial hormone that increases the flow of oxygen to muscles. Michelle Smith-De Bruin, a triple gold medalist in swimming at the 1996 Summer Olympics, has been banned from competition for four years for tampering with her own urine samples. I am in Monaco for a track-and-field meet, and as I look down on Stade Louis II from the old city several hours before the competition begins, I realize how much more difficult it is to find the

right tone in this climate of suspicion.

Today's world-record holder could be tomorrow's pariah; today's bitter fourth-place finisher a vindicated medalist.

How to leave room for revision without casting aspersions on everyone? How to do justice to a remarkable sporting feat without sounding unjustly skeptical?

September 7, New York: Pete Sampras is still in the running to match Roy Emerson's career record for Grand Slam victories at the United States Open, but as I walk through the American corner of the press room at Flushing Meadows, nearly all the televisions are tuned into a St. Louis Cardinals baseball game.

A global sport has been trumped by the local, and as Mark McGwire's successful chase of the single-season home-run record continues, I meet regularly with foreign colleagues from France, the Czech Republic and Sweden who are looking for metaphors that work for their countries. I do my best.

Imagine if some skier were closing in on Ingemar Stenmark's 88 World Cup victories. I suggest hopefully to the Swede, "My foreign colleagues also want to know why androstenedione, the muscle-building supplement McGwire takes, isn't banned by Major League Baseball if it is banned by the International Olympic Committee. That one is much more difficult to answer."

Nov. 22, Lake Kariba, Zimbabwe: I am in this struggling and lovely southern African nation to do a story on the Black children — Byron, Wayne and Cara — who grew up on a farm near the Zimbabwean capital of Harare and are all successful touring tennis professionals. After spending a few days with their family, I have come to this artificial lake that is a magnet for wildlife. This morning, I have rented a boat, and my driver is a young, lean Zimbabwean named Silas. We spot hippos and crocodiles near the shore. We spot cape buffaloes on an island. We find kudu and impala, kingfishers and jacanas. As we are relaxing and admiring a bull elephant as it approaches the lake to drink, Silas inquires about my line of work. I tell him, and Silas stays quiet a while before finally asking, "So what really happened to Ronaldo at the World Cup?" I look at Silas. I look at the elephant, and I start to laugh, a global villager adrift on Lake Kariba.

The world champion French soccer team being feted by fans along the Avenue des Champs-Elysees.



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